

**INSIDE: The saga of the battling Blue Jays**

# Maclean's

OCTOBER 21, 1985

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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## STRIKING BACK

**The capture of the cruise ship terrorists**



**Grounded EgyptAir  
jet in Sicily**





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### COVER

#### Striking back at the terrorists

In a stunning move against terrorism, U.S. fighter jets intercepted an Egyptian airliner over the Mediterranean and diverted it to an air base in Italy. Aboard were four Palestinians who had hijacked the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro* and brutally murdered an American passenger. By week's end they were facing war-crimes charges in Italy. —Page 32

COVER PHOTO BY MICHAEL O'NEILL



#### An uproar over patronage

As the Tory government tried to regain its balance after last month's tainted turn-around, new patronage allegations provoked opposition fury. —Page 14



#### A thumping heart

Actress and businesswoman Sophia Loren says that she is apprehensive about public appearances before-hand but perfectly at ease when she gets there. —Page 45



#### Walter Wolf breaks rank

Flamboyant multimillionaire Walter Wolf has filed a \$380,000 lawsuit against a top aide to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney over a business deal gone sour. —Page 46



#### The Jays of fall

Variants of a World Series with a Canadian team danced across the nation as the Blue Jays bottled Kansas City for the American League championship. —Page 72

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## The ominous future

For Americans and for many other people around the world, last week's dramatic U.S. "skyjacking" of an Egyptian airliner carrying four terrorists was a legitimate reason for gratification and relief. Gratification because for one of the first times, a victim nation was able to mount a clean, well-planned counterattack against hostage takers. And relief because while the murder of one man—Leon Klinghoffer—was an unspeakable abomination, a combination of effective diplomatic action, good luck and



Anti-American riot in Cairo: a danger of reprisal attacks

swift military countermeasures prevented what could have been an even larger disaster.

This week's cover story, written by a team of senior writers and edited by Foreign Editor Michael Peizer, pulls together many of the diverse elements of the complicated and still-unfolding story. But the task facing Washington and its closest allies in the wake of the bold U.S. action is formidable. They now will have to prepare to defend themselves against the random reprisal attacks that terrorists may mount not only in far corners of the world but even in North America itself.

Kevin Doyle

March 23, 1986

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## EXPO 86 UPDATE

# EXPO 86 From sea to sea

This month, the official marketing launch of the 1986 World Exposition takes off with a giant advertising splash. With the construction of its provincial and territorial pavilions now underway, Canadian participants are putting the finishing touches on the exhibits that will make EXPO 86 an unforgettable event.

"EXPO 86 now has more independent participation by Canadian provinces and territories than Expo 67," observed Commissioner General Patrick Reid at the recent signing of Prince Edward Island. "Each province and territory taking part will have its own pavilion, reflecting the unique styles of the many regions of Canada."

Cross-Canada travel has never been more convenient nor more fascinating! Inspired by the flagship Canada Pavilion, dynamic provincial and territorial pavilions promise to be major attractions.

A short stroll along a fenced pathway will lead visitors to the host B.C. Pavilion. The three-building complex is the largest of the provincial pavilions and a permanent legacy of EXPO 86. Under its sea blue glass canopy, more than 10,000 people will gather for National Day celebrations. And by night, the B.C. Pavilion is the heart of Expo After Hours.

**Wild and outrageous:** In the intriguing Alberta Pavilion, a combination of art, artifact and multi-media will lead visitors to the province with a strong sense of Alberta's vibrant nature. Described by its architect Gary Androschuk as "wild and outrageous," the Alberta Pavilion is sure to delight in '86.

Visitors to the 30-storey-high Sea Kingdom Pavilion will be treated to a panoramic view of the 70-hectare Expo site. The adjacent to the observation deck gives a look at a working grain elevator, with the descent simulating a ride into a potash mine. For adventurous gourmets, the restaurant in the Northwest Territories Pavilion will provide a glimpse of unusual fare. Noble on everything from creamed Arctic hare, reindeer ribs and caribou kebabs to traditional bannock bread, smoked black



Ontario pavilion: A spectacular waterfront architecture is a major feature of the Ontario Pavilion at EXPO 86.

cod and Arctic char.

Musicians and bakers will create a street theatre atmosphere at the Yukon Pavilion with humorous skits, poetry readings and Herkule tales inside a voyage of discovery from turn of the century Old Klondike days to the community of Dig Doo and its traditional Indian lifestyle.

Ontario is investing more than \$22 million in its pavilion at EXPO 86. "This should put participation at world expositions very carefully," says Pavilion Deputy Commissioner James Ramsay. Dismantling support amongst Ontarians leads pavilion officials to estimate that up to one-tenth of its residents — some 800,000 people in all — will make the trek west to Expo.

**Sea of Quebec:** A rendez-vous in the Quebec Pavilion offers a glimpse of the very soul of Quebecois culture. The legacy of the province in forming its vast network of lakes and rivers is the theme of the pavilion,

which uses walls of water, fountains and a multiple screen show. Visit Canada's eastern seaboard in the Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island pavilions. Guests from around the world will savor in the good times and "lobster tales" about "the one that got away" with the tastiest of our scorching foods.

Canada from sea to sea will be waiting at EXPO 86 — a kaleidoscope of Canadian lifestyles, with entertainment, exhibits, films and food offerings. The provinces and territories join more than 80 international participants in welcoming the world to Vancouver, May 2 to October 13, 1986.

To learn more about EXPO 86, write EXPO INFO, P.O. Box 1800, Vancouver, B.C., Canada V6C 3A2. Or call: (604) 680-3976. Telecommunications Device for the Deaf: (604) 680-3933. Service on from press: (604) 680-3999.

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## No free lunch

Alberta claims it is unfair not to have free trade, while Ontario is very reluctant ("Free trade," *Cover*, Sept. 16). The lumber industry desperately wants to establish good access to U.S. markets, but the logging manufacturers complain of an impending onslaught of cheap goods. With some groups losing out as a free-trade deal and others gaining, it is no wonder we have the "dilemma of inequity."

—KIMMAGE PRICE,  
Downsview, Ont.

Treated with interest that Prime Minister Mulroney failed to acknowledge the source of his 1985 Tory leadership campaign free-trade metaphor. It was none other than former prime minister Pierre Trudeau who was quoted in 1970 as saying: "Living next to [the United States] is in some ways like sleeping with an elephant. No matter how friendly or even-tempered in the beast, one is affected by every twitch and grunt."

—M. J. KELLY,  
North Vancouver

## Defence hypocrisy

The naive launching of an all-party committee across Canada, which was a guaranteed magnet for every Soviet-style group in the local governing structure, only proved once again that External Affairs Minister Joe Clark is the ultimate Canadian example of the Peter Principle ("A poltro 'no' to Star Wars," *Canada*, Sept. 16). The apologetic refusal by the Mulroney government to formally participate in any manner while selling the world that we support



Professor acknowledging his source.

the United States itself proceeding with its research is a shameful example of hypocrisy at work. If further U.S. R&D study produces increased protection from military aggression we will, of course and in usual, accept that protection with our own hands closed.

—NANCY MULLINS,  
Edmonton

## Learning cultural survival

We are pleased that you felt the Kahnawake Survival School important enough to include in your Education '85 section ("Teaching native ways," Sept. 20). There are two important points, however, that do need immediate clarification. First, the school was established as a direct response to Quebec's Bill 100. When the local provincial high school would not accept Kahnawake students without eligibility certification for education in the French language, the people of Kahnawake "walked out" from the high school back to the centre of Kahnawake. About 1,000 people participated in the walk. The next morning the people met and agreed to immediately establish our own high school. The Kahnawake Survival School was born. Secondly, the Mohawk language immersion program is presently at the Grade 6 level. It will be several years before the students reach Grade 7. In the meantime we are preparing a curriculum to meet their needs when they reach high school.

ALAN M. MCCORMICK,  
Principal,  
Kahnawake Survival School,  
Kahnawake, Que.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Let's Hear From You, Maclean's magazine, Maclean Publishing Bldg., 777 King St., Toronto, Ont. M5T 1A7.

## PAGES

DIED Actor, film-maker and writer Orson Welles, 70, of a heart attack, following a history of diabetes and heart ailments; in Los Angeles (page 87).

DIED Actor Yul Brynner, 65, who became synonymous with his role as the King of Siam over a period of 30 years during which he rendered 4,000 stage performances in the Rodgers and Hammerstein musical *The King and I*, after a two-year bout with lung cancer, at New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center in New York. Born on Sakhalin Island off the coast of the Soviet Union, north of Japan, Brynner claimed Mongolian and Romanian gypsy ancestry and began his career as an actor and acrobat in his teens, performing with a travelling European circus band. He arrived in New York in 1941 with Russian director Michael Chekhov's acting troupe and first appeared on Broadway in 1946 in the musical *Late Soap* with Mary Martin. Originally intended as a starring vehicle for actress Gertrude Lawrence, *The King and I* opened on Broadway in June 1951. Lawrence died a year later, but the Broadway run continued with the part of Anna relegated to a lesser role than that of the King. Brynner went on to win an Academy Award for the role in the 1956 movie version. Among Brynner's other acting accomplishments are his roles in the western classic *The Magnificent Seven* and in *The Brothers Karamazov*.

DIED Orchestra leader, composer and musical arranger **Nelson Riddle**, 64, best known for his work on albums with **Frank Sinatra** and **Linda Ronstadt**, of heart and kidney failure, at Cedars-Sinai Medical Center in Los Angeles. A big band musician in the 1940s, Riddle joined Capitol Records in 1961 and became a freelance composer and arranger 11 years later.

RECOVERING Singer **Penny Lee**, 65, from a four-hour double bypass operation to correct a heart ailment, in St. Louis Infirmary in New Orleans. Lee was in New Orleans to perform at the Parnament Hotel but had to cancel that performance as well as an engagement at a White House state dinner for the prime minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew.

RECOVERING Former rock 'n' roll musician-turned-evangelist **Little Richard**, 52, whose real name is **Richard Penniman**, from injuries sustained when the revved sports car he was driving crashed into a telephone pole on Santa Monica Blvd. in Culver City. Medical crews in Los Angeles doctors treated Penniman for head cuts, bruised ribs and a fractured right leg.

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# A dark flirtation with history

By Lyndee Gagnon

Conspiring memories of the October Crisis is difficult. Since then too many events have overlaid the world, too many people have died all over the planet. Beirut, Beirut, San Salvador, South Africa. Our vision is blurred. What did happen in October, 1970? What did that season? Why was everyone so excited? James Cross is alive and well and living somewhere in England, most *folks* have become Tappan, and these *rig* members who will dream of changing the world have sunk into oblivion. The army in Montreal is only a vague memory, those who were imprisoned without cause are back in the mainstream where they had always belonged and are more concerned with the stock market and job prospects for their kids than with ideology. The only tragedy, the only irreparable damage, is the death of Pierre Laporte.

Nevertheless, I know Quebecers for whom the October Crisis still recalls vivid memories; for them, that period has become mythical, a heroic saga. A few years ago I was at a party in Montreal where some of the guests were hard-line independentists. As the evening was nearing its end, a group sat around the table and talked about the October Crisis. I was astonished to realize that for them no detail had been forgotten and that they still firmly believed the War Measures Act had stemmed from a wicked, carefully planned plot which Pierre Elliott Trudeau and the RCMP had drawn up to crush the independent movement. Their discussion evolved into a very romantic ritual. Some had spent a few hours in a jail cell, they were talking about it with anger, but with nostalgia too. I was not on the same wavelength and so it was over to my regret.

Those at the other end of the political spectrum, who had never felt anything but strong disgust for the *rig*, are still equally sensitive about the whole issue. Four years ago, when Rose Ross, mother of Paul Rose—the *rig* member sentenced to murder and kidnapping—died, I wrote a column about it in *Le Presse*. I was amazed that the prison authorities had not allowed Rose to visit his mother while she was dying of cancer. I thought that their action was unnecessarily cruel, even more so because Paul Rose's day destiny in the matter was well known. I had spent the afternoon at the funeral, witnessing the mourners' tearful grief. The column I wrote was more

emotional than it should have been, and harmed readers might have mistaken it for an expression of sympathy for the *ex-folks*. When I sawed at the paper the next morning, the newspaperist gave me a supportive smile and a pile of hostile messages. All day long the phone

town Montreal, it was a time when French-speaking Quebecers were among the lowest-paid workers and the socialist view of employment being broadly exploited was widespread.

Many intellectuals, teachers, artists, students and trade unionists who



Westmount home of James Cross, harbored radioes and apocalyptic communique

kept ringing. It echoed with angry voices. "Have you forgotten Pierre Laporte?" Never, in my many years as a journalist, had one of my articles provoked so much anger.

The *rig* was not an isolated phenomenon. It started in a politically ill-climate period, when the anti-Vietnam movement was at its peak. In Quebec the radical wing of the independence movement had borrowed many of its ideas from the radical liberalist movements that were blossoming throughout the world. It was a time when many stars would not serve you in French in down-

dreamed of a new society thought that the curbs were strangled against them. There were too many obstacles—even the electoral system seemed flawed.

Just six months before the October Crisis the newly formed Parti Québécois, in spite of the prestige of its leader, René Lévesque, had won only seven seats out of 108, despite capturing 34 per cent of the vote.

Most independentists did not condone violence and were afraid that groups such as the *rig* would turn the population against the Parti Québécois through guilt by association. Still, the

*folks* needed some solid moral support. A key phrase was "I don't agree with their means but I agree with their goal."

In fact, the October Crisis started as a very exciting episode, especially for a young reporter. The scenario was loaded with suspense: anonymous voices passed messages to radio stations, apocalyptic communique were found in garbage cans. There were many dramatic press conferences where the most powerful men of the land looked vulnerable and frightened. Everywhere we went, we had portable radios glued to our ears.

Anyone with any knowledge of revolutionary politics knew from the start that the *folks* were amateurs and ideologically primitive. When James

Cross and his associates were not from Montreal as they had said, it was only the city streets. But the police were wild. One day they had an arrest warrant for a man named Gérard Pelletier—a student who was involved with the *rig*—and they went straight to the house of the liberal, liberal Pelletier, federal secretary of state and close friend of Trudeau's (The other Pelletier is now a city councillor in the plush suburb of Outremont.) They arrested and jailed people at random. Nobody could figure the list of suspects had been made. For always thought that had more to do with panic and incompetence than with a federal "anti-Quebec" conspiracy.

Early in 1971 things went back to normal. Not for everyone, though. Rob-



Soldiers in Ottawa's Rockcliffe Park: more to do with panic and incompetence than a conspiracy

ert Bourassa, the newly elected premier, had been outgoing and gentle. Now he became wary. The October Crisis was instrumental in creating the image of Bourassa as a weak man who had to ask for the army to come to his assistance and who seemed to be hiding behind Big Brother in Ottawa. For others, it was a turning point. Lévesque's successor as leader, Pierre Michel Johnson, joined the *rig* in part because he resented the imposition of the War Measures Act.

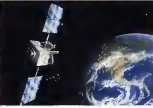
There had been other anti-*rig* cells in the 1960s and other innocent people killed or wounded. But Laporte was a well-known public figure. His death was such a scandal that it could have become a deadly blow against the *rig*. But ultimately the national movement had deep roots in Quebec and the *rig* was a strong party under the responsible and democratic leadership of Lé-

vesque. In the end, if the *rig* had any impact on the *rig*, it was only to make Lévesque's party appear moderate by comparison. As for the *rig*, because of Laporte's death it lost any claim to noble previously held. Afterward, there was no more political violence, not even after the 1975 election, when the *rig* went to six from four seats despite an increase in its popular vote—to 38 from 34 per cent. Once again the electoral system looked flawed. But then, three years later, the *rig* was after a peaceful campaign in which only the speeches were apocalyptic. The group of 100 persons ran deep, the 1980 referendum asking Quebecers whether they wanted the province to negotiate sovereignty-in-association with the federal government was equally peaceful.

Canada as a whole was shaken by the October Crisis. The War Measures Act showed many democrats, but most observers forget that it had been implemented before, with worse results, when citizens of Japan, when former Italian premier Aldo Moro was killed, so one in Quebec or elsewhere seemed to think that the British government should have negotiated with the Red Brigades. Last spring, when 39 people aboard TWA Flight 847 were held hostage in Beirut, most people, in Quebec or elsewhere, thought that the American and Israeli governments should not agree to the terrorists' demands because it would only breed more terrorism in the future.

Quebec had had a brief flirtation with political violence. But Laporte's death made terrorism seem even higher than the *ex-folks*—perhaps because it was not characterized by terrorism because it was just so unusual. Whatever the reason, the whole experience strengthened democracy in a province and a country in which democracy already had very strong roots.

Lynne Gagnon has been a political columnist with Montreal's *Le Presse* for five years.



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# Quebec's state of siege

It began with a ring of a front doorbell at a Montreal insurance co. shop on October morning. It ended 59 days later, leaving one man assassinated, more than 450 people arrested and Canadians with an unprecedented patriotic legacy. At 8:55 a.m. on Oct. 6, 1970, four men burst into the exclusive down-

town home of Retired Trade Commissioner James Cross. They found him in the upstairs bathroom, where he had just finished shaving. Wearing automatic pistols, one of the men shouted, "Get down on the floor as you will be f---ed!" Then, they handcuffed the half-dressed Cross and took him to a waiting

van. Within hours a convoy of four from the kidnappers—members of the separatist Front de libération du Québec—dominated headlines around the world.

Fifteen years later most Canadians recall the period simply as "The October Crisis." It is remembered for the sight of soldiers in combat gear keeping guard as cabinet ministers' fronts loomed. Debate still rages over whether then-prime minister Pierre Trudeau was right in his unprecedented decision to issue the main by invoking the War Measures Act during peacetime, giving police across the country sweeping powers of search, seizure and arrest. Much of the material that would clarify those events is still protected by the federal cabinet's oath of secrecy. Indeed, last month Liberal Leader John Turner, who was federal justice minister at the time, refused to discuss his role with Trudeau's heir that reason. Said York University history professor John Sawell, author of Quebec '70, a study of the crisis: "For sheer intensity there has been nothing like it in Canada since the 1960 Red and Blue." But in the earliest days of the crisis such new development added to the public's fear of a well-organized insurrection. The first contact from the kidnappers was a note left in a University of Montreal locker demanding the release of 33 "political prisoners," \$500,000 in gold (negotiated and safe passage to Cuba, Ottawa and the Quebec government swiftly refused. Five days later Quebec Justice Minister Jérôme Choquette read a televised statement, again rejecting the PFLQ's key demands but offering safe passage in return for Cross's life. Early on October 14, four men drove up to the South Shore Montreal home of Quebec's vice premier and labor and immigration minister, Pierre Laporte, handcuffing him off at midnight.

The second kidnapping heightened alarm. In Ottawa, Regional Economic Expansion Minister Jean Marchand told the Commons that he estimated the number of Quebec armed terrorists at 3,000. In Quebec City, Parti Québécois Leader René Lévesque declared that Premier Robert Bourassa's Liberal government had lost control and was simply taking orders from Ottawa. As troops of the Royal 22nd Regiment moved into Montreal, rumors that Claude Ryan, then-editor of the Montreal daily newspaper Le Devoir, was attempting to set up a parallel government appeared in the press. Ryan was forced to explain, in a personal editorial on Oct. 30, that he had, indeed, held meetings with his editorial staff and that they had discussed the possibility of a "parallel government" but that they had decided to play a role himself.

In contrast with the Quebec government, Ottawa acted to assist civilis-



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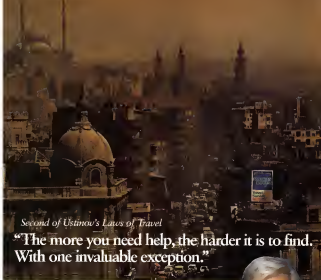
control. On Oct. 13, in a now-famous television confrontation on Parliament Hill, Trudeau said "bleeding hearts just don't like to see people with guns and helmets. Go on and bleed. It is more important to keep law and order." Asked by then-CTV reporter Tim Ralston how far he was prepared to go to maintain order, Trudeau shot back, "Just watch me." On Friday, Oct. 16, after receiving formal requests from the City of Montreal and the Quebec government, he introduced the act.

Few opposed it. One who did, civil libertarian Jane Culbreth, later said, "Canadiana tolerate brutal use of authority." But at the first debate over the act was swiftly overshadowed by events. On Oct. 18, acting on information from an anonymous source, police opened the trunk of a green Chevrolet Blazer in a parking lot near St. Hubert airport, 16 km east of Montreal. Inside was the body of Laporte. Within hours of learning of Laporte's death the Commons passed the War Measures Act by a 180-to-36 vote.

Meanwhile, the police investigation left Montreal's law enforcers with a damaged reputation. On Nov. 6 they raided the Queen Mary Road apartment where they correctly believed the suspects to be. But police missed brothers Paul and Jacques Rose and Prisoner Smith, who were behind a false wall in a closet. It was not until Dec. 3 that, together with the armed forces, they surrounded a triplex at 10945 Ave. des Bonnelles in Montreal North where Cross was being held. That night, after mediator Bernard Morin, a well-known defense lawyer, arranged for safe passage to Cuba for the kidnappers—including Jacques Lacombe, his wife, Suzanne, and infant son—the kidnappers drove under heavy police guard to Dorval airport, having dropped Cross off at the Mon and the World Fair area. Tension was at its highest when Lacombe earned a suspicious package to the washroom. It turned out to be his son's diapers, which he washed. Then, on Dec. 26, 34 days after the cross began, police traced the killers of Laporte to a farmhouse 22 km from the city.

Many participants now say that fears of an insurrection were exaggerated. In a recent interview with Maclean's, Beauregard declared, "Years after, we realize that they were much less organized than we thought." Even members of the FIC have modified their thinking about those traumatic times. After serving seven years in prison, Jacques Rose, 38, told Maclean's: "It was necessary at that time to act because of social conditions. But I hope that Quebec will never return such a period."

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### THE OCTOBER CRISIS

## A minister's defence

When four people, members of the Front de libération du Québec, kidnapped British Trade Commissioner James Cross on Oct. 3, 1970, Justice Minister Arthur Meighen, along with the rest of Robert Bourassa's Liberal government, had been in office for only five months. Charged with co-ordinating the provincial government's response and overseeing the War Measures Act's implementation, Meighen emerged from the crisis with a reputation for strength and decisiveness. But within five years internal disputes forced him out of the Quebec Liberal Party, and he founded the short-lived, centrist Parti National Populaire. When he and his party were defeated in the 1976 election, Meighen quit provincial politics to practice law. In 1985 he returned to the municipal arena, when he was elected mayor of Outremont, a city within metropolitan Montreal. Recently, interviewed by Maclean's reporter Anne Wallace in his central Montreal law office, Meighen, 57, recalled the dramatic events of 35 years ago.

**Maclean's:** Looking back, did the government take the right steps up to the suspension of the War Measures Act?

**Meighen:** When we were faced with Mr. Cross's abduction, I have no criticism of the position that was taken at that time offering a safe conduct to the kidnappers in exchange for the life of Mr. Cross. But at the same time, we were right not to accede to the demands of the

terrorists, who wanted both freedom for so-called political prisoners and money. Where we went wrong was that we overdid it. Certainly, the strength of the War Measures Act and its implementation was too strong. But there was also another aspect: people who were not terrorists were nevertheless expressing a lot of public sympathy for the terrorist movement, and there was also a danger of people joining in. Had the government been too wishy-washy, maybe there was a certain danger of civil conflagration.

**Maclean's:** Were you getting accurate information from the police?

**Meighen:** Well, we had only been in government since May of 1970. Right after we came into power there was a series of bombings of Westmont mailboxes. I was not experienced—you just do not become knowledgeable overnight. The police were certainly doing their best but, you know, sometimes policemen are apt to overstate ideology with, let us say, matters concerning law enforcement. Let us say that their information as to the terrorist movement was partially good, but was it well digested, was it well synthesized? Was there thinking behind it that really gave a true picture of the importance of the movement? This is very much an open question.

**Maclean's:** How did your life change after Cross was kidnapped?

**Meighen:** I worked in what they used to call the "criminal courts," a building with big windows in Old Montreal. While we were looking for Mr. Cross I was

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**Mackinnon's:** Three days after the Cross Conference, Pierre Bourassa went to New York to address *Newsweek*, he left you in charge of formulating and delivering the government's response to the Cross kidnappers' demands at an Oct. 10 televised press conference in Montreal. Can you recall that day?

**Choquette:** On the Saturday afternoon of the press conference Mr. Bourassa arrived back from New York and we had a rendezvous on the Champ-de-Mars in Montreal to talk about how I was going to handle the press conference. We talked for about an hour. The Champ-de-Mars is busy during the week but on that Saturday afternoon there was no one there. Then I went to the Radio-Canada building to deliver my speech.

The federal government had not seen the text. I had given them an idea of what I was going to say. Mitchell Sharp, the minister of external affairs, and that I struck a note he did not exactly agree with—not that I intended to be sympathetic to the terrorists but out of a desire to save Mr. Cross's life. But he said, "You are giving a little too far in extending your hand. Is that?" Well, I took his opinion seriously and made a change, not in our offer of safe conduct in return for Mr. Cross's life but in the way it was expressed. After the broadcast Mr. Sharp phoned me back and said, "Mr. Choquette, I agree 100 per cent with what you said."

**Mackinnon's:** Then what happened?

**Choquette:** I went back to my office and, boom, at 4:30 I got the news as I am walking down the corridor that Mr. Laporte had been kidnapped. It was exactly like someone punched me in the stomach. The next day Mr. Bourassa had a cabinet meeting; all the ministers came, giving their opinions about what to offer the kidnappers. There was a lot of worrying and disagreement. It was very tense.

**Mackinnon's:** How was the news of Mr. Laporte's capture interpreted?

**Choquette:** Well, it came immediately after the press conference, it was the terrorists' reply to say, let us say, was what sympathetic offer. Their counter-attack gave a strong impression of escalation and of organization.

**Mackinnon's:** City of Montreal officials took a hard line on what should be done. Did they work to concert with you?

**Choquette:** A lot of pressure came from Montreal. They were talking directly to Ottawa. There was some tug and pull between us and the city—they thought that I was too soft on the terrorists. They wanted to get me out of the way. I won't say who. But I am sure that they put pressure on Bourassa to get me out. One guy said to one of my brother-in-law's civil servants, Choquette will not be

animator of justice for too long."

**Mackinnon's:** How did you search for the kidnapped victims?

**Choquette:** We considered absolutely every angle, every possibility. At one point we sat around a table over the map of Montreal region while a clairvoyant stood over it with a pendulum, and when the pendulum settled he said, "That is where they are." Of course he was wrong, but we did not rule anything out. There is a recurring theme that I want to address, that the police knew the Laporte kidnappers' hideout for three or four days before his death. That is absolutely false. Never did the police or anybody else know where Mr. Laporte was held, until the assassination. Never. Never. Never.

**Mackinnon's:** How did you learn of Mr. Laporte's death?

**Choquette:** When Mr. Laporte was assassinated, normally I get the news from the police. All his family was at the Queen Elizabeth Hotel in which I was also living. Mr. Bourassa was in Room 1. He had been under tremendous pressure from the family to save Mr. Laporte's life. He phoned me and said, "Will you go and offer the sympathies of the government?" This was a terrible thing to have to do. I had to do it.

**Mackinnon's:** What sort of checks were there on the implementation of the *War Measures Act*?

**Choquette:** The first wave of arrests was made in a period of 12 hours. There was not time to put in a checking procedure. You rely more on the police to take that decision because the police are not supposed to have political preferences. It turned out to be a wrong principle. In point of fact, it would have been better if I had decided in each case. Now, mind you, that would have been a terrible burden because some people who went to jail would be saying "I went to jail because of that God damn Choquette."

**Mackinnon's:** But you still support the decision?

**Choquette:** We had to act. But was there something else that would have had less risk of individual injustice? When the measures were adopted I did not really think, myself, that the police would go and take so many people overnight. An act like that has to be used with discretion. After that I had to the police chief, "I want no arrests without my personal consultation." They brought me a list of names of people whose lives they still wanted to arrest. I saw some of the *filibusters* before they were arrested and said, "What's the matter? It is the job of a lawyer to defend people. If your whole job is like this, it is no good." There were no arrests after that.

**Mackinnon's:** Do you regret the decision?

**Choquette:** It was a decision taken in time of war. You shoot or you are shot at. It is a big question mark.

# Life during the crisis

On Oct. 18, 1979, three days after Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau introduced the War Measures Act in the House of Commons, a dozen members of an environmental organization—which was to become Greenpeace—staged a demonstration in downtown Vancouver. The demonstration had nothing to do with the Front de libération du Québec members who had kidnapped Québec Labor Minister Pierre Laporte and British Trade Commissioner James Cross. The Greenpeace wanted the city to make Gravelle Street a pedestrian mall, and they had gathered at the steps of the courthouse to make their demands known.

But by the time the demonstrators had assembled, they were already outnumbered by a squad of motorcycle policemen wearing riot gear and armed with the act's powers of detention without charge. The protesters dispersed quickly. Ronald Hilda Thomas, then a candidate for Vancouver city council who was participating in the action: "We had to decide whether to go or stay



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and have our heads broken. It was a real demonstration of how quickly a society, through the use of force, can intimidate people and prevent political expression."

The hammer blow of the War Measures Act was aimed at Québec. And because many Canadians perceived the crisis as a Québec problem, they were slow to realize that their normal civil liberties had been suspended throughout a different 36-day period. Vancouver's James Roblin, a founding member of Greenpeace who was among the band of activists on the courthouse steps, recalled, "I did not realize, when they invoked the act, that it included a whole nation," said Edgar Froese, author of *Deference to Authority*, a study of Canadian political culture. "Canadians enjoy far fewer and weaker formal civil liberties than Americans do."

The process of listening that first began at 8:15 a.m. on Oct. 18, when a spokesman for Trudeau announced the proclamation of the War Measures Act. At 11 a.m. Trudeau made his announcement to the Commons. The Tories protested the act's excessive powers but agreed that action was necessary. When the Commons voted on Monday, Oct. 18, only 16 members of the House, all members of the opposition, failed to approve its sweeping powers of arrest, search and seizure without warrant and detention



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without trial. And most Canadians supported the government's move. Indeed, a survey by the Canadian Institute of Public Affairs, conducted the day after the act came into force, showed that 57 per cent of Canadians believed the government was "not tough enough."

The impact of the act was immediate and pervasive. Army regiments were deployed to Quebec City, Montreal and Ottawa, and across Canada at border detachments, including the training academy in Regina, were put on full alert in case riot marches bombed federal government buildings in other

parts of Canada. More than 450 arrests, most of them in Montreal, were carried out by the police and provincial police. Soldiers performed simple guard duties and remained calm. Indeed, on Halloween night one soldier guarding violent minister Robert Andrus's Ottawa house handed out candies to masked youngsters.

But only a handful of Canadians protested what they perceived to be an infringement of their rights and freedoms in Winnipeg on Oct. 17, 300 young people marched down Portage Avenue, yelling "Hypocrite Trudeau." Across

Canada most newspapers applauded the measure, with only a few columnists speaking out against the act, including Robert Hunter of *The Vancouver Sun*, George Bala of *The Globe and Mail* and W. A. Wilson of *The Montreal Star*. As well, at several Canadian universities students denounced the act. Forbidden to publish the MIA's manifesto, four student newspapers did so anyway and either had their pages deleted or were prohibited from distributing. But police took no action against at least seven other student papers which printed excerpts of the manifesto.

Aside from these isolated notices there was almost no criticism of the act. Even Canada's French-speaking communities outside Quebec supported the government's tough stand. Winnipeg lawyer Robert Telford, who was 31 when the kidnappings occurred, recalls that many of Manitoba's francophones trusted Trudeau because he was Quebecois.

A few officials, such as Vancouver Mayor Thomas Campbell, even attempted to use the sweeping powers of the act to deal with unrelated problems. On Oct. 17 Campbell told reporters he wanted to use the legislation to rid his city of drug pushers and hippies. Said Campbell: "Drug dealers had better start dodging—get out of here, boy, because we're going to pick you up." Campbell never carried through on his threats. But on Oct. 26, Vancouver police took into custody seven members of the Vancouver Liberation Front—recently described to *Macdon's* by Vancouver journalist Bob Hunter as "just a bunch of drug-crused mutants"—after they received complaints that group members were handing out leaflets and pamphlets criticizing the War Measures Act. The seven were released shortly after.

In Manitoba development Joe Bonowski, highways minister in the new government of the time and now better known for his anti-abortion stand, sent Trudeau a telegram. It read: "Thank you for initiating the War Measures Act. When you catch the abductors, execute the bastards."

Still, the act did have a few lasting effects. Said Jane Calhoun, vice-president of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association: "It probably energized the latter debate on our Charter of Rights and Freedoms. It turned people around and made them more skeptical of authority." But the act itself remains unchanged, for most Canadians the experience only underlined one of the country's strongest national characteristics—its tolerance and leniency.

—JAMES ENGLISH is Toronto's LEADER OF RASH in Vancouver. GERRARD HANSEN is Edmonton. DALE ORLEY is in Regina. JILL COOPER is Winnipeg and KATHLEEN HANLEY is New Brunswick.



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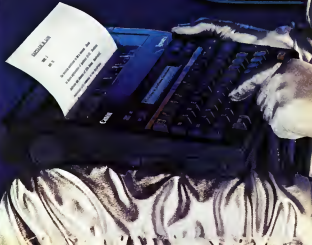
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## James Cross remembers

He lives with his wife, Barbara, in the small town of Lynington in the edge of southern England's New Forest. The neighbours are retired civil servants who enjoy small dinner parties and bridge. But the calm life of James Cross, 64, formerly Her Majesty's trade commissioner in Montreal, cannot dispel his grim memories of Canada. On Oct. 8, 1970, a Front de libération du Québec "action cell" kidnapped Cross from his home on Montreal's Redpath Crescent at gunpoint, bundled him into a stolen taxi and took him into hiding. It took the RCMP and local police 38 days to locate the kidnappers' hideout, at 2885 Ave. de l'Église, and successfully negotiate his release. During that time Cross endured the nightmare of his own captivity and the knowledge that another FLQ cell had murdered a second kidnapping victim, Pierre Laporte, Quebec's minister of labor and immigration. "Every time I hear about a hostage-taking there is a sinking feeling," and Cross. "You live through it all again."

Fifteen years later it is obvious that the events of 1970 still cast a shadow

over the Crosses' otherwise tranquil retirement. Despite the bed-in comfort of their white-painted, four-bedroom 1980s villa, with its hydrangeas, rose and apple trees, they become visibly ill at ease at any reminder of their ordeal. Speaking of the harrowing efforts on his family—his wife of 49 years and daughter,

*'Every time I hear about a hostage-taking there is a sinking feeling... You live through it all again'*

Susan, 29—Cross said: "It is something we have had to work through. I find it difficult to discuss."

In a recent statement to Montreal police made immediately after his release, Cross recalled spending his first days of captivity lying hooded on a mattress. He said that he ate repeated dinners of spaghetti and rice in the kidnappers'

parents' money began running out. And he recalled one of the worst moments of his life: the night the media erroneously announced that his body had been found along with that of Laporte.

It is a long way from such thoughts to Tipperary, the county in the Republic of Ireland where Cross was born on Sept. 26, 1903. The family owned a 180-acre farm, and Cross's early memories include the hardship of the Depression. Said Cross: "Nobody starved, but there were no luxuries." Still, he thrived at school, completing his education at Dublin's Trinity College with a first-class degree in economics and political science. He later joined the Royal Engineers and spent the Second World War in Palestine.

Cross's first brush with a terrorist movement was in 1946. He was in Jerusalem's King David Hotel when the pro-Ireland independence Storm Gang assaulted a powerful bomb which destroyed a wing of the hotel. Recalled Cross with the stoicism that would mark his later experiences: "There were 100 dead and we were trying to get them out—there was no time to be scared." Shortly after, he joined the Irish Board of Trade, which promotes through experts that led him by way of controversial postings in India and Malaya to Canada—and his rendezvous with the FLQ.

After the RCMP discovered his kidnappers' hideout on Dec. 3, 1970, Cross was rescued and reunited with Barbara and Susan, who had fled London and journalists in Montreal to stay with friends in Switzerland. He did not receive any of the sophisticated medical and psychological backup that greeted the hostages targeted by Islamic Jihad gunmen on a TWA flight from Athens to Rome on their release last June. Instead, returning briefly to England, he underwent a physical checkup and what he calls "a chat" with superiors at the Board of Trade. The only compensation he received was a \$22,500 grant, mainly to cover relocation costs.

Then, Cross returned to Switzerland for a three-month sabbatical leave before going back to work promoting British exports. Later, he headed the department of trade and industry's cost section during the 1972 strike which brought about the fall of the Conservative government. When he retired in 1980, he was head of personnel at the department of energy.

At 64, Cross looks very different from the rangy, dark-haired mid-1960s of 1970. Greying hair slicked back, his carefully groomed appearance complements his patrician manner and measured words tinged with an Irish burr in retirement. He and Barbara buy themselves with community work. After breakfast he bed at 8 a.m. — "We are

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into whole food and yogurt," said Cross—they walk for an hour in the evenings they watch television or read Cross's favorite chosen are history, biography and autobiography.

James and Barbara Cross have only once been back to Canada, a side trip to Montreal after a visit in the United States. They successfully avoided reporters, slipping into Canada to see old friends. "It was a thing, almost more

Cross says that hissing was "the loudest people in the world" heard, after spending 50 days in close proximity with only his French-speaking kidnappers, his smart statement to police on the day of his rescue reveals a vocabulary interspersed with Gallicisms, such as "maudite" for maddening. At one point he even referred to the group as "we." Still, Cross claims that he fell victim to the Stockholm Syndrome, a



Cross outside Lynton home; hearing belated reports of his death

experience," said Cross. "Just as we were about to cross the Quebec border somebody [Bel Denis Lortie] began shouting people in the investigative assembly." He also had an "old friend" in the three-story, grey stone house at 1097 Radgub Cross, which he had last seen on Oct. 5, 1970.

Cross will not talk about the way the Canadian government handled his kidnapping or the sometimes more longer than one year, that his kidnappers re-

turn that originated in 1970 after several Swedish bank employees were held hostage for six days and developed close ties with their captors. With a flash of humor, he recalls that a Canadian journalist who researched the subject wrote that he had never found the syndrome occurring "among representatives of British imperialism."

Even after 15 years Cross is unable to decide whether the experience altered his character, although he admits that

for a long time after the traumatic experience he had difficulty making decisions. "It is an unsolvable question. You would have had to observe me from outside," he said. But he concludes that he still feels "very strongly about what the kidnappers did to me and my family." Even in his English retirement, so far in time and distance from the Montreal of 1970, Cross says, "the war returns."

Cross, 1970, believed



—DAVID NORTH is Lynton



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## Memories of a messenger

The report that British diplomat James Cross had been abducted first reached the French-language Montreal radio station CKLM shortly after 9 a.m. on Monday, Oct. 5, 1970. Two days later Pierre Perreault, the station's well-known broadcaster and political commentator, unexpectedly found himself

playing a key role in the life-and-death drama that was to give the country for 30 days—the October Crisis, Nov. 17 and hosting a public affairs mid-day show on radio station CKAC. Perreault recalled his role in the crisis during an interview with *Maclean's* Contributing Editor Dan Burck.

On Oct. 3, 1970, shortly after lunch, a short, grey-haired man in his 50s delivered an envelope to CKLM radio's reception desk. It looked deceptively innocuous and it was addressed to me. The man dropped it off without a word, he was never traced. Inside, I found a list of the Front de libération du Québec's conditions for the release of Cross, as well as a brief note from the British trade commissioner to his wife and the Quebec authorities. The communiqué looked aesthetically like a red, green and white stripe across the top and the well-known flag, but more, a silhouette of a hulk with a gun. Cross's kidnappers had apparently chosen me because of my popularity and reputation. Without telling the police, the station's news director met hurriedly and agreed that I would read the communiqué on air. Of course, I was nervous. A man's life was on the line.

By the end of the first week of the kidnapping, I had received and broadcast three more communiqués. As the crisis dragged on, more followed. Real radio stations CKAC also received a share of the terrorists' correspondence. They got their communiqués stuffed in garbage cans, ours were left between the pages of the phone book in telephone booths. In any case, the responsibility was terrifying. My concern was for the men who were kidnapped.

I also felt in danger and was afraid for the safety of my wife and two children. The invisibility of the FLQ made them a menace of unknown proportions. At the time, it seemed that the police had gone haywire. There was always at least one guy following me. Their theory was probably that I would lead them to the FLQ.

The situation caused an unforgettable effluence of suspicion and fear in certain circles. Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa would call me at my home on St. Bruno to ask my opinion about the situation. And by Oct. 26, after the body of kidnapped Labor Minister Pierre Laporte was found, the station had become such a well-known conduit of information from the kidnappers that Mrs. Cross asked me to introduce a letter to the kidnappers, pleading for her husband's safe return. But then Justice Minister Melburn Choquette didn't seem to like me at all. Once, he called my members of the Quebec media in a breakfast meeting at the Queen Elizabeth Hotel. The government was locked up there. Then I noticed that the minister wore a grimace conspicuously in his belt, later, among members of the media, Choquette became known as "Two-Guns Jerry". At the time I was only trying to keep a cool head. There was constant pressure. The last thing was a climax, and I really did not enjoy it.



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### THE OCTOBER CRISIS

## A climate of emergency

I was well before dawn on Oct. 16, 1978, when police began to make arrests under the smogging War Measures Act invoked by the federal government in response to the kidnappings of James Cross and Pierre Laporte. For the next three days Nick Auf der Maer—then a 36-year-old journalist, street radical and onetime member of the separatist Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale—avoided his home, his friends, his job as a current affairs producer at CBC TV and his favorite multiplex.

He had been warned that his name was on a list of those to be arrested. Finally, fearful of losing his job, he returned to his office in the CBC Radio-Canada Montreal building, and at 11 a.m. on Oct. 19 two plainclothes RCMP officers took him into custody. But the experience did not permanently unbalance him; the former radical has become a Montreal city councillor, newspaper columnist for the Montreal Gazette and a failed federal Tory candidate.

The War Measures Act made it illegal to be either a member or sympathizer of the Front de libération du Québec. Within a month police used the powers under the act to detain more than 450 people, ranging from students to such well-known political figures as Dr. Hilda Bellavance, an independent who opposed Montreal Mayor Jean Drapeau in the October, 1976, mayoralty race. The act allowed police to hold suspects for 30 days without bail and without the right to a lawyer. Only about 50 people were ever charged with a crime under the act—many of the others were mainly well-known organizers of street protests and small strikes.

As a radical in the 1960s Auf der Maer had joined an unsuccessful drive to transform McGill University into a transphone institution. In 1969 he had also supported the city's radical taxi drivers in their violent struggle to end the Murray Hill Limousine Service's monopoly at Dorval airport. The taxi drivers, grouped under the banner of the Mouvement de libération du Taxi, included Marc Gendreau and Jacques Lacroix—members of the PMA cell that kidnapped Cross. But Auf der Maer recalls that when he was still taking out with friends and heard the report of the Oct. 17 murder of Laporte, the radical cause was stripped of its romance. "The Laporte killing broke the back of radical resistance," he said.

The previous evening Auf der Maer



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INFORMATION IN MOTION







Mulroney showing the first ball of the Jays game to Toronto, another mark of patronage and controversy

## CANADA

# A new outcry over patronage

**A**s Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government struggled to put last month's tainted tuna affair and the resignation of Communications Minister Marcel Masse behind it, new controversies erupted around it last week. While the CBC pressed investigations into possible election spending irregularities in Masse's Pontiac riding, the recurring issue of the Mulroney government's patronage practices came under renewed scrutiny following the disclosure of government business deals with Conservative supporters. The beneficiaries included—for the second time—a firm run by Finance Minister Michael Wilson's brother-in-law and millionaire entrepreneur Walter Wolf, a former Mulroney associate who has acknowledged contributing \$22,500 to Mulroney allies who helped defeat Joe Clark as Tory leader at the party's 1983 Winnipeg convention.

In a separate development that also involves Wolf's relations with Mulroney's associates, Mulroney's learned that Wolf last month lodged a claim in the Supreme Court of Ontario against Profl. Doucet, a senior Mulroney adviser, for \$300,000 (page 46). Wolf's suit arose

from financial losses that he incurred after investing in the now-defunct firm of East Coast Energy Ltd (ECOL), which was headed by Doucet. Wolf was already engaged in a legal battle against a \$200,000 suit involving East Coast Energy that was launched last year by the Toronto brokerage house, McLeod Young Wier. Another investor, who put \$15,000 into ECOL, was Mulroney.

Mulroney's has also learned that during the summer of 1988 the Halifax office of McLeod, Young Wier was broken into, apparently by someone searching for ECOL documents. That suggested a link with a series of other mysterious break-ins that summer at the Montreal offices of a firm of organizational and individuals linked either with the Conservative party—or with Wolf.

But in the Commons last week, controversy centred in a more recent business deal involving Wolf, a Canadian inter-

national fundraiser-advertiser whose base of operations was Montreal but who now lists in his legal documents his native Austria. Science and Technology Minister Thomas Riddon acknowledged that Ottawa had agreed in August to pay \$342,500 to Wolf's firm, Wolf Sub-Gossin Ltd, of St. John's, to help finance a joint project with another Newfoundland firm, com. Ltd. The company wanted to develop an underwater vehicle for offshore mineral exploration.

Liberal MP Shirley Coppes accused Mulroney of setting political debts with taxpayers' money. "I think that Mr. Mulroney is paying off his friends," Coppes told reporters outside the House. Declared New Democratic Party Leader Ed Broadbent, "There is a gross abuse of responsibility over public funds here."

Broadbent acknowledged that no formal contract or tendering was involved in funding by the federal department of re-

sources industrial expansion for Wolf Sub-Gossin and its partner. He added that this was because the deal was part of a regional development agreement between Ottawa and Newfoundland, and a federal-provincial committee was empowered to decide how funds would be distributed. Indeed, Riddon declared that Wolf Sub-Gossin and com. Ltd. were the only companies in Atlantic Canada capable of meeting Ottawa's needs. But a statement issued by Newfoundland Premier Berni Fentieford's office last week said that the other Newfoundland firms had applied for funds to develop the offshore vehicle.

The Toronto Globe and Mail also re-

sponded from the subject on Sept. 25 after learning that the Montreal wire suggested possible irregularities in his campaign in Newfoundland for the September, 1984, federal election near Coast. André Gauthier, who is looking into possible campaign spending, in fact, and false declarations in Masse's campaign, said in a Sept. 25 search warrant application that he wanted to know how the \$22,675 was "disbursed."

In another episode, Justice Minister John Croux was the central figure in a dispute in an interview on a St. John's radio station, Croux criticized Mulroney staffers for their handling of the

Croux's arrangement with Wolf Sub-Gossin, and the same revelation of contracts with friends and relatives of government figures, developed just a month after Mulroney introduced new conflict-of-interest guidelines in response to earlier controversies over patronage. The guidelines prevent close relatives of cabinet ministers from holding senior government offices, but they do not say whether the friends of government or party officials should enter into business arrangements with Ottawa.

Still, new measures to reform Parliamentary procedures that were announced by the government last week will give him a stronger voice in the key patronage area. Under the measures, which were first proposed by an all-party committee under Tory MP James McGrath in June and will be given a year's trial starting in the New Year, Commons committees will have the power to remove—but not veto—most appointments to major federal government positions. These will include senior posts in the civil service and on federal agencies. As well, the experimental reforms will give Commons committees power to lay outside experts, determine areas of study and propose policy.

Mulroney, who made only infrequent appearances in the Commons last week, allowed his ministers to deal with awkward questions. For the most part, he occupied himself with other business, including a working lunch with Quebec's new premier, Pierre Marc Johnson. Still, he encountered difficulties at a Friday morning press conference when an Ottawa correspondent at Peeling's New China News Agency asked about a speech given by Revenue Minister Oliver MacKay. MacKay had appeared before a Toronto gathering of Chinese Canadians from Vancouver, China in Taiwan, which Canada does not recognize.

The reporter also noted a privately funded visit to Taiwan last week by a group of MPs, led by former defence minister Robert Coates, and asked whether there had been any change in Canada's policy of recognizing only the Peking government. Mulroney insisted that there had been no change.

When Mulroney travelled to Toronto with his wife, Milla, to see the Toronto Blue Jays defeat the Kansas City Royals in the first game of their American League baseball season, he was confronted by a reminder of the problems facing him in Ottawa. As the Prime Minister tossed a ceremonial home-starting baseball in Toronto's Exhibition Stadium, the crowd in the bleachers chanted, "Tuna, tuna, tuna."

—MARK MOORE in Toronto with  
MICHAEL BROWN in Ottawa



McGrath: Appointments require providing for review of government appointments

revealed that a \$64,280 Transport Canada contract to develop Coast Guard communications in Quebec was awarded to Doucet's brother, Raymond, a director of the Quebec-based firm of Doucet et Associés Consultants (Quebec) Ltd. As well, two department of employment and immigration consultancy contracts worth about \$22,500 were awarded to the Toronto advertising firm of Lawson Murray Ltd, which is partly owned by Wolf's brother-in-law, Douglas Lawson. In April, Mulroney's government came under attack after it was learned that a \$234,900 government advertising contract had been awarded without tender to Lawson Murray.

In the meantime, senior officials investigated a \$21,475 bank deposit that was withdrawn from Mulroney's private account in Quebec's Pontiac riding in March—three months after Masse filed his election spending returns. Masse re-

sponded that the deposit was made to the resignation of Fisheries Minister John Fraser on Sept. 23. A transcript provided by radio station VOX revealed that Croux and Mulroney's aides were not "in contact personally or as politically intensive as they should be." But Croux, apparently after a conversation with Mulroney, denied in the Commons that he had resigned the Prime Minister's Office.

Liberal Leader John Turner charged that Croux's performance called into question "the ability of the minister of justice to command public respect in the administration of justice." Later, New Brunswick Tory MP Robert Corbett joined in the controversy by declaring in another radio interview that the public had a "right to know" whether Mulroney's "views" were so "diverse" that they "got to be obvious."

The parliamentary furor over

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## A tense Tory finale



Griner, Getty and Kossek: a reform of the leadership selection process

**A**t last week Donald Getty, the hunky former football player and acknowledged front-runner in Alberta's Conservative party leadership race, appeared to delegates to award him a first-ballot victory at the party's Thanksgiving weekend convention in Edmonton. Such a victory, argued Getty, would give him a position of strength from which to govern as successor to Premier Peter Lougheed. But Getty's almost-linear drive came awry: delegates mounted that his two rivals for the leadership—Municipal Affairs Minister Julian Kossek and Calgary lawyer Ronald Griner—had stolen into the first round to ouster his lead in the polls that Getty had slipped from the position of certain victor to likely winner.

As delegates prepared for the three-day convention at Edmonton's Convention Centre and AgriFest building—highlighted by a tribute to Lougheed and the Sunday morning balloting—the conclusion of the race promised to be as tense as the 12-week campaign. Almost from the start, the leadership race was marred by allegations of rigged delegate meetings, ballot box stuffing and political blackmail. As a result, many Alberta Tories say that in the future the party will have to reform its leadership selection process. Getty and Griner proposed a new system modelled on the party-wide vote that chose Pierre Marc Johnson as the new leader of the Parti Québécois last month. Instead of 28 elected delegates representing each of the province's 79 ridings voting for the leader, the reform

proposal would allow every card-carrying Tory to cast votes for a new leader. Said Griner: "The system now is not reflective of the party but of who can organize best."

Both Getty and Kossek made few policy statements, explaining that they thought the party caucus should generate new ideas and programs. Only Griner, a party maverick, regularly issued policy pronouncements advocating such things as development of long-term agricultural policies and government programs to help develop markets for energy products. World Darryl Levesque, an Edmonton delegate committed to voting for Getty on the first ballot: "I don't think it's wise for Albertans to see Tories hiding from difficult situations."

The party's new leader, who is expected to be sworn in as premier during the first week in November, is almost certain to make restoration of the party's tattered unity a first order of business. At the same time, most Conservatives expect the new man to call an election next year. With three existing members of all but four of the legislature's 79 seats, the Tories seemed likely to win another term of office. But both the New Democratic Party and the Liberals were determined to make substantial gains in the next election from a party that, after a fractious and divisive campaign, no longer seemed as sure of itself.

—ANDREW KIRKORUK in Edmonton

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# A painfully slow start to free trade

It began with formal agreement at the highest level, when Prime Minister Brian Mulroney told President Ronald Reagan late last month that Canada wished to open discussions on ways of expanding trade between the two countries. Reagan welcomed the decision and assured Mulroney that he would ask Congress for approval to get

Americans believe that a flood of imported goods is causing unemployment in the United States.

And even if current maneuvers to devalue the U.S. dollar slow the volume of imports into the country, political observers on both sides of the border believe that fundamental policy differences between Ottawa and Washington

Representatives' foreign affairs subcommittee on trade, we read that he had "given answers" about trade negotiations with Canada. Unless we also address outstanding disputes over Canadian subsidies, dumping and other unfair trading practices.

As Mulroney's letter indicated, fears in Congress about specific Canadian exports—including softwood lumber, some steel products, beans and fish—could indefinitely stall progress toward a comprehensive Canada-U.S. trade pact. Softwood lumber is an issue that could continue to plague the preliminary discussions, because the U.S. industry—like the Canadian counterpart—has been hit by mill closures and widespread layoffs. Producers, based mainly in the U.S. northwest and south, argue that the "stumpage" fees Canadian governments charge companies for logging timber on Crown lands are artificially low and thus unfair.

Canadian lumbermen retort that their American counterparts have created their own problems because they have eased their costs under a U.S. system that provides for competitive bidding on cutting rights. The study for Yeater's office showed that the average U.S. fees for cutting timber on government property soared to \$104 U.S. per 100 board feet last year from \$10 in 1982. In Canada during the same period, comparable government stumpage rates rose only modestly. Still, the American industry has developed strong support in Congress. Florida Democrat Sen. Gibbons, who visited British Columbia last summer to see how the Canadian industry operates, has introduced one of several bills this year designed to curb Canadian lumber imports.

On the Canadian side, preparations for trade talks are complicated by genuine in Canada to coexist with American subsidies from Washington. Mulroney has said that Canada will not bargain away cultural interests in such fields as broadcasting or traditional Canadian policies, such as regional development programs. But some observers fear that trade talks could founder when U.S. opposition to government subsidies runs up against Ottawa's support for increasingly depressed regions and industries. Typically, New England fishermen have complained for years

that their Canadian counterparts have an unfair advantage because of such benefits as boat-building subsidies and demand for countervailing duty against lower-priced Canadian fish.

But the U.S. position on countervailing duty is increasingly clear. Last month Mulroney told a trade conference at DePaul's Wayne State University that it probably would not be possible "to exempt any country from any countervailing duty or anti-dumping laws." Mulroney told Mulroney's last week, "I think there has been pretty clear. He would like to see us go into the first discussions, with no preconceived notions of what is or is not going to be in."

In his formal approach to Reagan last month, Mulroney asked the President to "move swiftly" in concluding Congress about trade talks with Canada. But the Reagan administration has little choice but to hold its fire and wait for a more propitious moment to seek congressional approval for talks with Canada. If the administration decides to go ahead with talks without the prior approval of the Senate finance committee and the House of Representatives trade subcommittee, a treaty would still require Senate ratification.

Given the obstacles standing in the way of an early start to negotiations, whether the Canadian or the U.S. government appears to have concrete ideas about how the trade initiative will eventually unfold—or where it will ultimately lead. In Washington the trade representative's office has started to discuss the issue with congressional committees on labor and business interests. As well, the Reagan administration plans to hold public hearings on Canada-U.S. trade—at a date that has yet to be determined. In the meantime, few observers expect the matter to be resolved in the near future. Mulroney, a professor of international finance at Washington's Georgetown University. "Liberalizing trade is not among the core, key issues that have been identified by the President. If it is not among the core issues, it may as well be forgotten because there's not the political horsepower to push it through."

Still, it is far too early to discount the possibility of successful negotiations, and Canadian Embassy officials in Washington, including Ambassador Ian Goldie, continue to wait the waxes in Congress. Last week embassy officials were making telephone calls and visits to key legislative officials. But their efforts so far appeared mostly to goodwill gestures. Mulroney at American trade officials. "They have been asking me the same question as the press. What's next?"

—IAN ALSTON in Washington



Loading lumber in Vancouver. Lighting along U.S. protectionist railings

the talks under way. Since that exchange more than two weeks ago, there has been no approach to Congress—and little else to indicate that any momentum for trade negotiations is likely to develop in the foreseeable future. Indeed, officials in the office of the U.S. trade representative, Clayton Kretzler, admitted last week that they are deliberately playing down the issue because of the strong protectionist sentiments that currently dominate Capitol Hill. Sen. William Markham, the assistant deputy trade representative who handles Canadian affairs, "That was clearly our game plan and will continue to be our game plan until the time is right to deal with Congress. The mood is not helpful up there."

Technically, the Reagan administration could embark on trade talks with Canada without the blessings of the House of Representatives and the Senate. But the White House is unlikely to risk antagonizing Congress, where there is already widespread hostility to the idea of breaking down barriers to Canada-U.S. trade at a time when many

on trade issues could cripple discussions on free trade with Canada. What it all added up to, noted Canadian Embassy spokesman Jack Paulchowski, was that Washington and Ottawa so far had agreed to "a proposal to have talks about having talks."

Typical of the protectionist hurdles in Washington countering free trade with Canada was the response last week to a 204-page study prepared for Yeater's office as the state of the Canadian and U.S. softwood lumber industries. Congressional representatives of lumber-producing states seized on evidence of cost disparities between the U.S. and Canadian industries to argue for support restrictions. In a letter to Yeater, Congressman Don Bonker, a Washington state Democrat who is chairman of the House of

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## Washington's new man

As Canada and the United States prepare for complex free trade negotiations, Washington's new ambassador in Ottawa, Thomas Niles, acknowledged last week that "there are some very big areas of agreement" in the United States about Canada. As well, he said, that the most useful role he can play may be in communicating Canadian sensitivities—and explaining American intentions—to Canadians. Averse of Canadian concerns that sovereignty might be eroded in a move toward free trade, the 46-year-old career diplomat said that part of his job will be "making clear what we are not up to. That's almost as important as what we are up to."

After a month in the new post, Niles said that some Canadian concerns about the risks involved in free trade may be unfounded. The ambassador told *Maclean's*: "There are some exaggerated fears on the part of many people in Canada about what free trade, or freer trade, might mean for them." He added that hammering out a trade pact would take time and patience. "I think there is a point beyond which we would say, 'Look we're not making any progress, let's go home.' But we don't know what that point is. So I don't think anyone today can say if we don't have a result in a year it's all over—or two years or five years or whatever."

Niles said that most Americans "don't realize how important Canada is to an economically. Unfortunately, people in my country know too little about Canada." As a result, he added, there is "a feeling in Canada that is not very justified that people in the United States don't know anything about Canadians, and don't care."

The new ambassador may be ideally placed to change that attitude. In sharp contrast to his predecessor, Chinese insurance tycoon Paul Shih-shen, whose outspoken statements during his four-year tenure frequently affronted Canadians, the soft-spoken Kennicottian is a career foreign service officer. His previous posts included stints in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Belgium. Named ambassador in July, Niles served in Ottawa last month with his wife, Correll, and his two teenage children.

Niles at the top of his ambassadorship with gestures that would have been unlikely under Robinson. He apologized for Washington's handling of the controversial voyage by the U.S. icebreaker *Polar Sea* through the Northwest Passage in August—and for New York baseball fans who booed the Canadian national anthem before a game last month between the New York Yankees and the Toronto Blue Jays.

A Harvard graduate who studied his-



Niles: easing fears over free trade

tory and graduated magna cum laude before joining the state department in 1962, Niles was schooled by Quakers in a small town in the town of John Jacob Bider, a well-known American songwriter (*Black Is the Color of My True Love's Hair*). He was serving in Washington as a deputy assistant secretary of state in the state department's bureau for European and Canadian affairs when he was appointed to his new job. His reaction, he said, was "astonishment and delight." Still, Niles acknowledged that he now has to make a difficult adjustment from being a bureaucrat to his new semi-celebrity status. "I guess the feeling is that the role of the ambassador here is a very important one," he adds, "and there's an element which was a little bit surprising, frankly."

In Ottawa, Niles began his days early by jogging five kilometers around the grounds of his headquarters official residence in Ottawa's Rockcliffe district. "Basically the place is pretty well-lighted," he says, "so even in the dark, you can see—you don't fall into holes and things like that." But as a reporter, and as a seasoned diplomat, Niles is well aware that there may be many obstacles to overcome before his term ends.

—ELIYAH WACKENZER in Ottawa

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# The collapse of the offshore dream



Buchanan: A brainstorming session aimed at reviving Nova Scotia's economy

**T**he World Trade and Convention Centre in Halifax, an imposing brick and glass structure where Nova Scotia Premier John Buchanan arranged to hold talks on the provincial economy this week with 150 business, labor and community leaders, represents an eye-catching swelter in the shape of a seahorse sailing over a stainless-steel globe. But the symbolic representation of a province on top of the world is hardly as accurate reflection of current realities. Neither the provincial economy nor the eight-month-old trade centre itself have fulfilled the glowing predictions made for them a year ago. The trade centre already needs government help to cover an \$5-million capital and operating deficit. And the provincial economy, which only a year ago was the fastest growing in Canada, has slowed dramatically—despite Buchanan's

pledge during his government's re-election campaign a year ago to keep the province's economy "number 1."

The main problem has been a sharp downturn in the province's once-proud offshore oil and natural gas exploration. Fuelled by \$306 million last year

Carey: McCain charges of political manipulation



in federal grants for offshore petroleum exploration, the Nova Scotia economy grew at an overheated annual rate of 7.6 per cent, the fastest in Canada. Jiding the cost of that economic wave, Buchanan's Conservative government swept to its third consecutive election victory last Nov. 6, with 55 of the provincial legislature's 63 seats. A year later Buchanan paints out that economic activity in the province is still the highest in the Atlantic region. But for many Nova Scotians recent economic developments have been disheartening.

Exploration for natural gas in the shallow waters of the Scotia Shelf has declined steeply as a result of falling international oil prices, an oversupply of natural gas on North American markets and a poor record of confirmed discoveries. As well, there is uncertainty about a replacement for the federal Petroleum Incentives Program (PIP), which was launched under the former Liberal government and is currently being phased out by federal Energy Minister Pat Carney. As a result, only two offshore drilling rigs are currently operating off Nova Scotia, compared with as many as seven rigs a year ago, and offshore-related employment, which was estimated at more than 3,300 jobs in 1984, has dwindled to half that number.

As well, the decision announced in Prime Minister Michael Wilson's May budget to close two money-losing heavy-water plants in Cape Breton is costing the province another 600 jobs and may worsen the jobless rate in Cape Breton, already at a Depression-era level of 20.4 per cent. Overall, the province's unemployment rate is now 12.1 per cent—or 52,000 people—compared to 11.5 per cent a year ago. According to a projection by the Conference Board of Canada, Nova Scotia will attain a growth rate of only 2.4 per cent this year, compared to the national rate of 3.7. As far

farther evidence of the province's declining economic fortunes, the New York bond-rating house of Standard and Poor's last month reduced Nova Scotia's creditworthiness from an A to an A-minus rating.

The economic setbacks have almost certainly cost Buchanan's Tories some of their support. Even though the government does not have to call an election before November 1986, Angus Reid, a political scientist at Yorkville's Acadia University, says that unless Buchanan can invigorate the provincial economy, the province



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# A "LUDICROUS" AND "REPUGNANT" PLAN

Canadian Medical Association

According to Health and Welfare Canada, within the next eighteen months, more Canadians will die at the hands of tobacco industry products than were killed during the entire Second World War. In fact, the Royal Society of Health Journal says that the smoking "epidemic" has death rates "as high as those from cholera at the peak of the epidemics in the last century."

## \$600 MILLION BAILOUT

It's hard to believe that just when the health campaign to reduce smoking is starting to bear fruit, a move is afoot to prop up the ailing tobacco growing industry through the creation of a national tobacco marketing board.

It's hard to believe that just when there is strong public support for legislation to weaken the industry's hold on the economy, some members of Parliament want to create an agency that will make it more difficult for health interests to end this epidemic of unnecessary deaths.

And there's more. Just when the Health Minister is spending millions of your tax dollars to stop tobacco industry related deaths, the Agriculture Minister wants to underwrite that effort by dishing out to \$600 million out of the economy to subsidize the industry. But that is what is planned. Canada's tobacco farmers, mostly in Ontario, are in trouble from declining sales. After all, their customers are dying from smoking at alarming rates — 30,000 annually in Canada. In an effort to rescue their industry, tobacco farmers want Ottawa to set up a marketing board to promote the sale of domestic and export tobacco in order to guarantee the farmer a "reasonable profit." A Globe and Mail editorial describes the plan as "absurd."

The annual cost to the economy of this "reasonable profit" guarantee will approach \$40 million, and perhaps more. The cost of subsidizing exports will be at least \$50 million. These subsidies, which amount to an

average of \$35,000 per farm, would be raised by a levy on the manufacturers who, in turn, would pass the cost on to the consumer. Some MPs say privately "who cares if smokers have to bear this additional cost?" We do. And this aid will explain why

Agriculture Minister John Wise will push Cabinet to approve the marketing board plan in the next few days. It's his job, communally, at least, to tell the government to say "no thanks" to the marketing board proposal. Here's our case.

## 1 The "Tobacco is good for the economy" myth

According to Health and Welfare Canada, the tobacco industry causes a net loss to the economy of \$2.7 billion due to health care, lost productivity, fires and other costs. This net loss rises after all industry benefits are considered, including tobacco taxes to all levels of government. There is no ethical or economic rationale for prolonging the natural life expectancy of the tobacco industry.

## 2 If health interests stop the growing of Canadian tobacco, it will simply be imported from abroad.

This is a "red herring." Health interests are not trying to stop the growing of sufficient tobacco to satisfy the domestic market. We are trying to stop any attempt to protect the industry from the unavoidable effects

associated with the winding down of an epidemic of death.

Because tobacco use is addictive, demand is declining only gradually. This opens the way for an orderly, planned phase-out of the tobacco industry. This is not what the plan proposes.

## 3 Some tobacco interests claim that those who oppose the marketing board are anti-farmer.

The farmer is not the real problem. The real problem is manufacturers who market an addictive product to young people and who still deny that their product is the cause of death and disease.

We are not anti-farmer. We are anti-epidemic. We believe that if the Canadian economy holds \$100 million for another bailout, then the money should be used to assist wheat farmers and others who are engaged in socially useful farming and who are struggling for their very survival. Or the money should be used to assist tobacco farmers to make a transition to health-producing crops.

## 4 Some pro-tobacco industry MP's say that the board will not increase tobacco consumption.

If you believe this, you believe in the tooth fairy. The marketing board plan states that one of its purposes is to "assist in the promotion of the consumption and use" of tobacco. More tobacco sold translates into

more tobacco consumed. Any success achieved by a marketing board would result in increased illness and death!

## 5 Exporting an epidemic.

It is inconceivable that a government of any civilized society would implement a plan designed to dump excess tobacco on underdeveloped countries where populations are uneducated about the risks of smoking, and where tobacco companies refuse to publish warnings on cigarette packages. But that is the plan.

## 6 More bailouts for non-competitive industries.

At the same time that the MacDonald Commission condemns the propping up of dying industries, a government committed to "no more bailouts" will consider yet another multi-million dollar subsidization of a non-competitive sector.

The problem facing Canada's tobacco growers is that their production costs are too high in terms of world markets. This makes them non-competitive internationally. The growers would have the marketing board subsidize their crop for export ("buying down the price") via the \$60 million export subsidy. It seems incongruous that a government committed to building competitive industry would consider a plan to subsidize an uncompetitive product which causes disease!

### Endnotes

"Anything that produces greater consumption than would otherwise exist is directly counter to our national health objectives. And anything that strengthens the tobacco industry also strengthens its ability to thwart health efforts to diminish the industry's death toll."

"It is no consolation that the \$100 million will not be raised by taxation. If the government expends money even to ease the bite, the money is still drawn from the economy."

## HOW TO HELP

1. Write your Member of Parliament, House of Commons, Ottawa K1A 0A6. Ask your MP to reject the marketing board plan. Ask him or her to address the points raised in this ad. Write the Hon. John Epp, Minister of Health, and ask him to fight this proposed Cabinet.

2. Send our Association copies of letters to and from your MP. We'll evaluate the responses and send you additional information.

3. Join and support the Non-Smokers' Rights Association. The NSRA is much more than a clean air rights group. The NSRA is a hard hitting, national health organization deeply involved in preventive medical approaches to the entire tobacco issue. Major international reports have identified "advocacy," not stop smoking campaigns, as the key to the tobacco issue. And medical education is what we do best. Your cheque will support campaigns like this. Of course we will send you our informative membership kit.

4. If you want a charitable receipt for income tax purposes, send a separate donation to the Smoking and Health Action Foundation. This donation will go to our research and public education activities. (Registration #0459123-59-13).

Thanks to Quinque Company for the printing and art.

## ORGANIZATIONS OPPOSED TO THE PLAN

- Canadian Medical Association • Canadian Cancer Society\*
- Non-Smokers' Rights Association\* • Canadian Lung Association\*
- Canadian Public Health Association\* • Canadian Heart Foundation
- Physicians for a Smoke Free Canada\* • Canadian Council on Smoking and Health

(\*denotes member, Committee for Responsible Public Policy on Tobacco)

## To the NSRA, I want action on the tobacco issue:

- ☐ How's my membership cheque for \$20 (and \$5 on additional \$...) for hard-hitting action through "advocacy"?
- ☐ Here's a cheque for \$\_\_\_\_\_ payable to the Smoking and Health Action Foundation. Send me a tax receipt please.
- ☐ Send me more information on ☐ the NSRA and/or ☐ the marketing board plan.

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Address: \_\_\_\_\_ Apt. \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_ Prov. \_\_\_\_\_ Code: \_\_\_\_\_

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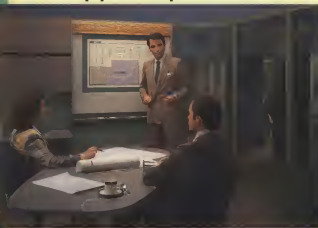
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extremely vulnerable — he put a lot of stock in the offshore, and the offshore is cooling."

Buchanan clearly intended this week's economic conference, modelled on a national conference held in March by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, to divert attention from the collapse of offshore exploration while searching for new avenues of economic development. The two-day brainstorming session will bring together an eclectic group of personalities, including the president of the 1,000-employee IRI Group Ltd., an aerospace and marine industrial company, a leader of Nova Scotia's 30,000-member black community, the president of the Nova Scotia Federation of Labor, and the executive director of the Union of Nova Scotia Municipalities. Declined Buchanan: "We hope this conference will strengthen our development thrust. We're going to have people there who are directly involved. We're going to ask those people how we can assist them."

In the meantime, Nova Scotia's economic problems have raised questions about Buchanan's ability to influence the federal wing of his party. So far, Mulroney's government has not responded to the Tory premier's repeated calls for a new incentive program to replace the IRIS grants, which will end in 1993. Carney insisted in Parliament last week that the government would announce a new incentive program shortly. But some opposition politicians claimed that Buchanan may have made a political miscalculation a few months before last summer's federal election when he bypassed Carney, who at the time was opposition energy critic, to lobby Mulroney, then-opposition leader, directly on energy matters. Buchanan, said Opposition Liberal Leader Vincent MacLean, "just doesn't have any friends up there."

Still, the premier has most of his immediate ahead of him and he is determined to put on a display of leadership. If the conference develops new economic proposals, the government may begin to act on them within weeks. Buchanan is widely expected to announce both a cabinet shuffle and a shakeup of the senior civil service well before the federal-provincial conference of First Ministers that is scheduled to address economic issues in Halifax late next month. Meanwhile, this week's conference took on new urgency when Infometrics Ltd., a respected Ottawa-based economic forecasting agency, predicted that the prospects of Nova Scotia's gas deposits were falling and that the province's economy would decline to a "very weak performance" well beyond the turn of the century.

—CHRIS WOOD in Halifax

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## Outrage in Edmonton

Edmonton's hard-hits and provincial government fanatism have grown accustomed to trading blows with the oil barons and cowboys of Calgary about the respective merits of the two Alberta cities. But last week editors of *Edmonton* responded with fury after *The New York Times* published an article that they regarded as insulting to the Alberta capital by Montreal novelist Nordens Rieker. In a profile of Edmonton Oilers star centre, Wayne Gretzky, in a three-pourly *Times* sports supplement, Rieker com-

Sunday *Times* sports supplement (circulation 1.6 million), which was accompanied by a painting of Gretzky standing next to a barren, idle-banded city, and denounced the piece as an example of "yellow journalism" by a "cheap-shot artist." The paper provided readers with Rieker's Montreal telephone number and suggested that they call "to vent their spleen." For his part, Deane told reporters he wondered why Rieker, who claimed that in Edmonton there was not a "first-class restaurant anywhere in town," had neglected to mention the



Rieker: roundly denounced as a 'yuck! little wing'

pared the city to a "weed-building lot" and described the downtown area as a treeless landscape of beige office towers populated by "grim religious ascetics" and "integrated streetwalkers." As Edmontonians sprang to their city's defence, Mayor Laurence Deane accused Rieker of arriving in Edmonton for a visit last spring "with a false and contemptible sense of eastern high cultural superiority," while an outraged publisher Mel Hartig denounced the best-selling author as a "rule little wing."

The reaction from other Edmonton layfolk was equally outraged. The snappy *Edmonton Sun* reprinted excerpts of the Sept. 29 article from the

northern city's esoteric character and the beautiful park system that winds along the banks of the North Saskatchewan River.

In a letter to *The Edmonton Journal*, Hartig charged that Rieker's "deluge of the city dated back to the disastrous opening last year of a masked adaptation of his best-known novel, *The Apprenticeship of Dudley Kravitz*. Edmonton theatregoers and critics panned the million-dollar production. Added Hartig, publisher of *The Canadian Encyclopedia*: "Rieker's favorite pastime is to ridicule Canada and Canadians before audiences in New York, Chicago or London." None of the critics was mollified by Rieker's description of Edmontonians as a "truly admirable lot" who thrive on "justifiable resentments against the grasping, self-satisfied East."

In the meantime, Rieker appeared to be harassed by Edmonton's explosion of protest. The writer declared in Montreal last week that he stood by his story and still thinks Edmonton is ugly. Hitting back at *The Edmonton Sun*, Rieker told a *Sun* reporter that a few of the paper's readers had telephoned him and that "if that is any indication of the literacy of your readers, then you should be careful to keep your sentences short." Late last week city officials sent a "Telex to *The New York Times* requesting either a retraction or equal editorial space to tell New Yorkers what Edmonton is really like.

—ANDREW NEUFORTH in Edmonton



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The Achille Lauro in Port Said. Kinghoffer's widow, Marilyn, stands (right) weeping (below) 'you can't hide'

# STRIKING BACK

The EgyptAir Boeing 737 swept out of the night sky over Sicily with four P-4 Tomcat fighters from the U.S. aircraft carrier Saratoga in close escort formation. The jetliner tumbled into a NATO air base at Sigonella, on the Italian island's sparsely populated eastern coast. After aborting one landing run, the plane circled the base and landed. Then, as military planes buzzed overhead to provide cover, the airliner taxied to an isolated corner of the base, where it was immediately surrounded by U.S. commandos and Italian paramilitary police. On board were four young Palestinian guerrillas who had hijacked the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro and brutally murdered a crippled American passenger, Leon Klinghoffer, 69. Within minutes the Italians took custody of the four men, providing a dramatic and unexpected close to a bizarre work of Mediterranean terrorism and diplomatic intrigue.

In Washington, U.S. President Ronald Reagan could scarcely conceal his

elation at the sudden turn of events. For the first time since taking office, the President had managed to make good his longstanding vow to strike back at terrorists who attacked American citizens—and he had done so without U.S. forces firing a single shot. Said Reagan, congratulating the U.S. Navy flyers who had intercepted the Egyptian airliner over the Mediterranean and forced it to land at Sigonella: "These young Americans have sent a message to terrorists everywhere." The message, he added, paraphrasing the words of former heavyweight boxing champion Joe Louis, was: "You can run but you can't hide."

**Mainwinds:** But while Reagan and America rejoiced, other analysts anxiously measured the political fallout—and the potential for further violence in the cycle of terrorism and retaliation—free the Achille Lauro hijacking and the American capture of the hijackers. For one thing, the affair strained relations between the United States and Egypt, whose president, Hosni Mubarak, had promised safe conduct to freedom

for the terrorists in return for their surrender of the cruise liner—and its terrified crew and passengers—to Egypt. Mubarak defied repeated U.S. demands that the list not be disclosed and presented them only to the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF) leader Abdel Abbas, who had been aboard the Egyptian plane diverted to Sicily, to leave for Yugoslavia, despite a U.S. request that Abbas be detained on the ground that he was the "mastermind" behind the cruise ship terrorists. U.S. Ambassador to Italy Maxwell Rabb immediately delivered what Italian officials described as a "hard and sharp" protest.

At week's end in Belgrade, Abbas denounced the U.S. interception of the Egyptian plane as "water terrorism" and warned that the American action "given on the right and encouragement to use all means in our liberative struggle." In Washington, a White House spokesman said that the United States was asking Abbas's extradition from Yugoslavia—a U.S. arrest warrant accused Abbas of hostage-taking, piracy and con-

spiracy—and vowed that "we will find him." And in Jerusalem, Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, reserving the right to avenge Klinghoffer's murder, declared, "The Jewish people have a duty, and that duty has the means to protect the lives of innocent people."

**Assault:** But it was Abbas's associate Yasser Arafat and his Yarmouk-based Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) that seemed likely to suffer the most serious potential damage. Throughout the week Arafat strenuously denied that his organization had any involvement in the seizure of the cruise liner other than to help negotiate a cease-fire resolution to the crisis. But despite that disclaimer, Israel, for one, said there was strong evidence that the PLO had itself planned the mission by its PFL faction. Both Arab and Israeli officials said that the four Palestinians who staged the operation had originally boarded the ship—in Greece—intending to arrest an Israeli on the southern Israeli port of Ashdod, a scheduled stop on the Achille Lauro's 13-day Mediterranean cruise.

At the same time, the cold-blooded killing of Klinghoffer on board the ship undercut Arafat's campaign to convince governments in Western Europe and the United States that the PLO is con-



mitted to making peace with Israel. Since 1969, when Israeli invasion of Lebanon forced Palestinian fighters to flee their bases in and around Beirut, Arafat has been striving to maintain a moderate image in the West in order to preserve the group's role as key Israeli peace talks. "You can say all you want about how the PLO is really against Zionists, not Jews," said Israeli political philosopher Shlomo Avineri. "But when the chips are down, people are either Jewish or not." Said U.S. Senator Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), chairman of the Senate foreign relations committee: "Arafat has been trying to make his image as a legitimate political leader. His involvement here shows to the world again his true colors."

**Consequences:** By contrast, Reagan was grim, both at home and abroad, for his handling of last week's hostage drama and the subsequent interception of the Egyptian airliner carrying the hijackers. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, describing terrorism as "the base of existence of civilized nations," telephoned Reagan to express his support for the U.S. interception. British Defense Minister Michael Heseltine, meanwhile, described the action as "remarkable" and added, "It is everybody's interests that the reach of interna-

tional terrorism should be contained." Added Peres in a cable to Reagan: "We share your enormous decision and decisive action. Your action is a landmark in the fight to eradicate terrorism."

**Reversal:** In the United States, the response to Reagan's handling of the affair was euphoric. Stock market analysts on Wall Street coined the phrase "Rambo rally"—a reference to the popular movie about an emerging Vietnam War veteran—to describe an unexpected 11.87-point surge in the Dow Jones industrial average following four days of lockstep trading. On Capitol Hill, Senator Thomas Eagleton (D-Mo.) paid tribute to Reagan for what he called "the imaginative and decisive way he handled the capture of the four terrorists." Added a liberal Senator Gordon Humphrey (R-N.H.): "These cheers for Ronald Reagan and to hell with pirates everywhere."

As analysts reviewed the dramatic event, many observers could not help wondering whether the Egyptians had known all along about the U.S. interception plan. They noted that the Egyptians had delayed the departure of the Boeing 737 jetliner for several hours from the time the hijackers surrendered to Egyptian authorities. The delay allowed time for the United States to move the USS Saratoga, steaming off the southern coast of Albania in the Ionian Sea, into position for the operation. As well, U.S. officials put pressure on the Tunisian government to deny landing rights to the airliner in Tunis, the base of Arafat's operations and the hijackers' desti-





U.S. F-14 fighter planes, possibly for further violence in a cycle of terrorism and retaliation

nutes. According to the collision theory, Meharab severely injured the U.S. plane because it allowed his brother to hold him back from publicly rebuking the hijackers to justice. He told reporters that it would be "all right" if Arafat himself decided to punish the four gunmen as long as "he believes their organization has enough of a kind of national court set up, like a nation." But he subsequently attracted that suggestion, saying that the HUD did not have jurisdiction over the hijackers because it

one or two elements of genocide and approved the principle "Upon landing in Chicago, however, Reagan appeared uncertain about the possible role of the HUD in bringing the hijackers to justice. He told reporters that it would be "all right" if Arafat himself decided to punish the four gunmen as long as "he believes their organization has enough of a kind of national court set up, like a nation." But he subsequently attracted that suggestion, saying that the HUD did not have jurisdiction over the hijackers because it

Arafat charges of 'false terrorism'



Adviser Robert McFarlane, the president's approval of the intervention came in two stages. A preliminary outline of the plan, composed by Deputy National Security Adviser Vice-Admiral John Pendergast, was presented to Reagan shortly after noon on Thursday on board Air Force One during a flight in Chicago to pressure his federal law enforcement. Said McFarlane, "The provided

did not represent a sovereign nation. Admitted Reagan "There has been some confusion. Maybe I'm responsible."

During his stop at a Sealer Kitchen's baking factory in Deerfield, Ill., outside Chicago, Reagan used a private office to revise details of the planned strike. Several times, according to McFarlane, the president asked "what if" questions, and expressed "very prudent regard" for the role he was doubling down on. Of the last time U.S. forces had tried to mount such an operation—the failed 1980 attempt to rescue 52 U.S. hostages in Iran, which resulted in eight American deaths and badly damaged the political standing of then-president Jimmy Carter.

During Reagan's return flight to Washington a few hours after the Deerfield session, the president issued a final executive order for the rescue. By then, the four F-14 fighters, two E-3 Hawkeye radar tracking jets and two airborne refueling planes were already in the air, having been launched from the Samos. In darkness, the U.S. jets flew toward Tarsus in search of their quarry. Finally, at 24,000 feet in international airspace, they intercepted the Egyptian plane. At first, the jets flew with lights out in order to avoid detection. But after failing the search for 30 minutes—during which time the Egyptian pilot asked for, and was refused, landing rights at both Tarsus and Athens—the F-14s moved in and surrounded the aircraft. The navy jets then switched on their lights and one of the E-3s radioed the Egyptian pilot to change course toward Sicily. An U.S. Defense Secretary General Weinberger later described it: "The interception was carried out without any hostile activity on our part. I would say that the Egyptian crew simply accepted the inevitability."

**Passports.** But despite its dramatic denouement, there were still many more questions than answers about the hostage affair. Among other things, it was still not clear at week's end exactly who the hijackers were or why they had commandeered the Achille Lauro. The ship, carrying 280 passengers and 20 crew, set sail from Genoa on Oct. 3 for a 12-day cruise calling at Naples and Syracuse in Italy, Alexandria and Port Said in Egypt, Aden, Israel, Larnaca, Cyprus, and the Isle of Cyprus. According to Italian investigators, all four Palestinians, aged 19 to 29, boarded the lux-

liner in Genoa using false passports. An unconfirmed report claimed that the hijackers had concealed weapons, grenades and other explosives inside capsule crates that were loaded aboard the ship before the cruise began.

As more details emerged last week, it seemed clear that the Palestinians had not intended to hijack the cruise ship. In fact, Israeli, Palestinian and other Arab sources all agreed that the four men had boarded the ship simply because it was a convenient means of entering Israel. Israeli sources said last week that at least one of the terrorists had taken an earlier cruise aboard the Achille Lauro in order to study the ship and its defenses. He himself with the luggage at Aden, an important Israeli naval base. "The plan was to continue on the cruise until it reached Ashdod," said Shmuel El Hassan, a senior Arafat aide.

**Panic!** But before reaching their destination, the captain's plans ran into trouble. The Palestinians' behavior about the ship aroused the suspicion of other passengers, including an Israeli couple who reported their concern to a member of the ship's crew before disembarking at Alexandria for a tour of the pyramids. Then, after the ship left Alexandria for Port Said, the northern Egyptian port, the ship's captain, a writer, spotted the Palestinians as a group in their cabin. Panicked, the four commandos began firing their automatic rifles, stunned the bridge and commandeered the ship, ordering it to leave Egyptian waters.

As the ship steamed toward Syria, the hijackers issued their demands by radio to the Italian and U.S. ambassadors in Damascus. At first they agreed to free their hostages in return for the release of 50 Palestinian guerrillas held in Israeli jails. But they later revised their demands to include Palestinians held in several other countries, including Italy.

Only one name was singled out, however: Saïd al-Quntari, whom they described as a "hero of Operation Sabotage." A Lebanese, Quntari was one of two first guerrillas who burst into the apartment of Danny and Samir Hanna in the Israeli seaside town of Nahariya in 1980. One of the men shot and killed Mr. Hanna. Quntari murdered the couple's five-year-old daughter by slaking her food against a rock.

By 1 p.m. Tuesday the Achille Lauro had arrived off the Syrian port of Tartus, where the hijackers eventually hoped to be given asylum. But though the Damascus regime had for years trained and



Violence in Cairo angry U.S. demands to 'prosecute those sons of bitches'

financed Palestinian guerrillas—particularly those opposed to Arafat's leadership (page 58)—Syrian President Hafez el-Assad clearly wanted no part in the hostage drama, and Syrian naval vessels were sent out to rebuff the cruise ship. Frustrated, the hijackers grew increasingly impatient. Declared one hijacker in a ship-to-shore transmission: "We cannot wait any longer. We will start killing."

They sniped at Klinghoffer from a group of U.S.

and British tourists who had been ordered to lie down on the ship's deck. According to Giovanni Nighiolo, the Italian ambassador in Egypt who interviewed the hostages after their release, the hijackers dragged Klinghoffer to the ship's rafting in his wheelchair, then fired a shot to the forehead and dangled the body, with the wheelchair, into the sea later. They threatened to kill another elderly American, Miriam Mosler. But according to Nighiolo, the ship's captain, Gerardo de Nona, "pleaded strongly for her life and they gave up."

That night the Achille Lauro returned to Egyptian waters, and by dawn it was anchored 15 miles off Port Said. By then it was obvious that the hijackers' demands would not be met. Indeed, even the two second associates for the hijacking to end. One while the ship was still off Syria, a man calling himself Abu Khalid—the son of a governor of Mar-

leader Abul Abbas—had telephoned an Arabic-language radio station in Cyprus and called on the four guerrillas to "save the people and the sea kindly" and to return immediately to Port Said. Abbas himself later turned up in Port Said, where he joined a Egyptian-Israeli-Palestinian team in negotiating the surrender of the hijackers.

**Agencies.** The present agreed to "save the ship in return for three conditions. First, they demanded safe passage out of Egypt—a request promptly accepted by Meharab, who declared his decision later by saying that when he made the deal, he was unaware that any of the passengers had been harmed. Had he known otherwise, Meharab said, "he would have changed our position on the whole operation." The hijackers also demanded a promise of talks between Israel and the United States about the release of the 50 jailed Palestinians. And they insisted that they not be turned over to the PLO. According to some observers, the last point was simply an attempt to further dissociate Arafat from his own agents.

By week's end there was growing evidence of the PLO's complicity. Yasser Khatib, director-general of Israel's foreign ministry and a former senior intelligence officer, said that the four guerrillas who carried out the attack belonged to a faction of the PLO that is allied with Arafat's Al Fatah movement. Khatib's account closely resembled a version given in Cairo by the PLO's El Hassan, who said the hijackers were members of the PLO, a splinter group of the PLO which recently split into two main factions.

On a political level, the hostage drama

seemed certain to disrupt relations, if only temporarily, between the United States and Egypt, the only Arab nation, so far, to make peace with Israel. "The United States should never have done this," Mubarak said Saturday, as 3,000 students marched in the streets of Cairo to protest the American action. "This is very sad and I am very wounded." Earlier, in identical statements, the White House and the state department publicly criticized the reported terms of the hostages' release, adding, "The decision

House spokesman Larry Spokes said the Reagan administration was confident that the hijackers were still in Egyptian custody. Spokes said, "We are particularly distressed that there has been no announcement yet that those responsible will be turned over to the appropriate authority for prosecution and punishment."

**Question:** Indeed, U.S. intelligence sources told Mubarak that Washington was kept fully informed of the hijackers' location while they were in Egypt. The

that nearly led to gunfire, the Bahamas was out and took the four hijackers—as well as two other Palestinians aboard the plane, including Abbas—into custody. The four men later gave their identities as Allah Abdullah Al-Hassan, 39, Hammed Ali Abdullah, 39, Maged Youssef Al-Malk, 33, and Abdel-Aziz Ibrahim, 30. They were later transferred to a prison in Syracuse, 60 km south of the NATO base, and formally charged with kidnapping, murder and acts of terrorism. If convicted, they could face life



on how to resolve the crisis was cast aside by the Egyptian government." Indeed, Reagan administration officials said later that by agreeing to release the terrorists Mubarak had directly contravened a request by U.S. Ambassador Nicholas Veliotes. Learning of Klinghoffer's death during a visit to the ship shortly after the hijackers surrendered, Veliotes had demanded that the Egyptians "prescribe their own of bribes." The state department also expressed anger at both Rome and Cairo for apparent willingness early on to cooperate with the hijackers to go free.

**Pamphlets:** In fact, U.S. officials doubt the claim that Mubarak had been telling the truth about Cairo's role in the affair. In Washington, at a time when Mubarak was claiming that the Palestinians had abducted the ship, the country, White

sources said that all day Thursday, while various Egyptian judicial factions argued about what should be done with the hijackers, Israeli intelligence was monitoring these conversations and passing the contents on to Washington. By the time the Egyptian 702 finally lifted off the runway at Cairo East airport, its tail number had already been relayed to the F-14 fighters circling over the Mediterranean.

**Crew not custody**  
Ironically, when the airliner was finally allowed to land at Sigonella, a dispute broke out between Italian carabinieri and U.S. Delta Force commandos, who had flown in from Port Bragg, N.C., for a possible assault on the Achille Lauro. The U.S. troops initially surrounded the airliner and refused to give way until the Italian was persuaded to extradite the hijackers, an intelligence source said. But after a confrontation

imprisonment, but not the death sentence.

At week's end, the United States and Italy were still at loggerheads over which of the two countries had the right to try the hijackers. Refusing to let the matter drop, Washington moved arrest warrants for the four gunmen and Abbas. Said a justice department spokesman, "We consider him to be the ringleader of the operation."

**Widow:** Some of the freed hostages, who flew home on the weekend, stopped in Rome to identify the four Palestinians being held for the ship rescue. Among them was Marilyn Klinghoffer, the murdered American's widow. Mrs. Klinghoffer described the terrorists as "despicable" in a telephone conversation with Reagan and one report quoted her as saying during the identification process in Sicily, "I never thought I'd see you again." The grief-stricken widow vowed to return to Italy to testify against the men charged with her husband's murder.

—BOB LAYNE with DAN ALSTEN and WILLIAM LUTHER at Washington; DAVID ROSENBERG in Syracuse, N.Y.; GILBERT in Rome and JIM KELLY in Sicily

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# Anticipating the terrorists

**T**he spiral alert came from Israeli intelligence and had been passed, through formal channels, to friendly governments in the West. Palestinian terrorists were training for a hijacking on the high seas. But even before that warning was issued, some six months ago, the world's growing fraternity of experts on terrorism was convinced that lesser naval lanes would soon become targets of terrorist operations. In part, their conviction reflected the tightened security nets that now surround more conventional targets of terrorism—airports and embassies.

"Terrorists were expected to respond by shifting their sights to more vulnerable targets," said Brian Jenkins, director of the San Francisco-based Rand Corporation Research Program on Terrorism. And an ocean liner, he added, is as much a "container of hostages" as a jailhouse.

**Pink** Really important, because terrorists in a form of theatre, terrorists must constantly find new ways to capture the world's attention. "The kinds of things terrorists do regularly become routine," Jenkins says. "They have to do something spectacular to keep making the front pages." At the same time, the past 20 years have seen a rising incidence of terrorism at sea. Bombs have been placed on board ships, mines have been attached to hulls and there have been a number of hijackings and attempted hijackings. In 1972 members of the Black September Palestinian terrorist group plotted to hijack an Italian liner sailing out of Cyprus. Police discovered the plot and foiled it. Earlier, in 1961, a group of Portuguese and Spanish dissidents seized the Santa Maria, a Portuguese cruise ship with 967 passengers and crew members, in the Caribbean. In 1976, the Achille Lauro was involved in a political upheaval in Brazil and released its hostages.

Although the four Palestinians who seized the Achille Lauro apparently did not intend to hijack the Italian liner—instead aiming to mount a terrorist operation in the Israeli port of Ashdod—the incident underlined the vulnerability of cruise ships. "In today's climate cruise ships are too perilous," said New York travel agent Joyce Cole. "They are going to have to become much more security-conscious."

Many experts also have long predicted a resurgence of Palestinian terrorism. Expelled from Beirut under Israeli pressure in 1982, the PLO has been effectively



Young Palestinians (inset) capturing world attention

divided a secure base of operations close to Israel's borders. Such terrorism specialist Jenkins: "To maintain international morale and to demonstrate to the world that the Palestinians are still there and still mean business, we had anticipated a resurgence of international activity. And we can expect to see more."

**Cynical?** Just what the next target will be, as one can readily predict. But many analysts also find the familiar cynicism syndrome, in which one terrorist act, even if unsuccessful, in a series of acts, in a sense, breeds the next. The main deterrent to the sheer difficulty of seizing a large ship. In fact, one sign that the Palestinians had probably decided to hijack the Achille Lauro was the ease of the terrorist team. Said Christine Helms, a research associate special-

izing in Middle East studies with the Washington-based Brookings Institution, four men are "nowhere near enough to hold a ship like this." Added Helms: "They needed 15 or 20 people to do it." Citing the Achille Lauro case, American shipping bossman Peter Scherer agreed: "This is not a 727 jet with seat-belt rowdies. It's a rather difficult ship to hold for a long time because it has a very complex layout of public rooms and cabins."

**Rescue:** In fact, although details of the planned operation were not leaked, U.S. Delta Force commandos, perhaps in conjunction with Italian commandos, had secretly flown to the ship in 1980 based in Sicily and were preparing a rescue attempt when the hijackers' surrender was announced. Experts took, however, that recovering a captive ship by force would be difficult. "The first priority would be to stop the ship's propellers and bring it to a stop," said retired U.S. Admiral Robert J. Hinkley, commander of the U.S. Middle East Force. Even then, Helms pointed out, "If commandos tried to force grappling hooks on the side of the liner they would face a straight climb of more than 80 feet and be easy targets."

Many governments are wary that the apprehension of the terrorists last week will deter other hijackings at sea. But most experts doubt that the deterrent effect will last. The reality, said the Rand Corp.'s Jenkins, is that "terrorists can attack anything, anywhere, any time, and governments cannot protect everything, everywhere, all the time."

—WILLIAM SAWYER in Washington



Radicals: a badly splintered organization suffered throughout the Arab world

## The faces of the PLO

**T**he Palestine Liberation Front (PLF), the organization in which the hijackers of the Italian ship Achille Lauro claimed membership, consists of two vehemently opposed factions. One leans toward diplomacy, the other toward armed struggle. The story of the PLF's split is the story of most Palestinian groups under the umbrella of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the quest for an independent homeland that began after the formation of the state of Israel in 1948.

Since its formation in 1964 the PLF's objective has been to recover all or part of ancient Palestine from Israeli control. In pursuit of that goal there have been frequent power struggles for control of the PLF leadership. When Al Fatah, the largest PLF faction, gained political dominance in 1969, leader Yasser Arafat became chairman of the PLF executive committee. The organization found a friendly host in Jordan until 1975, when King Hussein, wary of the PLF's growing autonomy within his country, ousted Arafat's forces after a yearlong war. PLF fighters then went to Lebanon, where the bulk of their mili-

tary base remained until eviction in 1982. Now they are scattered throughout the Arab world and splintered into factions that are either allied with Syria or Arabi—or operate independently.

After 1975 the guerrillas turned increasingly to international terrorism. Airplane hijackings and bombings became common tactics of the PLF, whose murder of 18 Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich gained the group worldwide notoriety. The leadership suffered its first major split after Israel defeated Egypt and Syria in the 1973 October war. Moderate groups were willing to accept a Palestinian state limited to the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Golan Strip, both of which Israel had occupied in 1967. But "negotiation" groups within the PLF refused to abandon their original goal: the elimination of Israel and its replacement by a nonsectarian state. Internal schisms continued to widen until, at present, the PLF is effectively divided into at least 12 distinct factions, each with its own leader and adherents.

Among the better-known groups: **Al Fatah:** Headed by Yasser Arafat and based in Tunis, Al Fatah is the largest PLF group, boasting some 5,000 armed fighters. It advocates a fast-paced armed struggle against Israel combined with a readiness to seek political solutions to the Palestine problem.

**Palestine Liberation Front:** Small and badly split, the pro-Arafat wing of the PLF that carried out last week's hijacking of the cruise ship Achille Lauro is based in Tunis and headed by Adel Abu, a member of the PLF executive committee known for slandering spectacular raids against Israel. Another, pro-Syrian wing of the PLF, headquartered in Damascus, denied membership in the hijacking. Headed by Talaat Yusef, the small group of fewer than 100 is committed to armed struggle.

**Arab Liberation Front:** Another small faction that broke away from Al Fatah, the ALF is now based in Iraq. With Abdel Rahman Aliwad at its head, the group is currently allied with Arafat.

**Black June:** The most prominent independent group of Palestinians, Black June has been committed to the overthrow of Arafat since 1978. Led by Sakir Al-Banna (now disguised Abu Nidal), it is responsible for the assassination of several pro-Arafat moderates as part of a campaign to derail diplomatic efforts to settle the Palestinian question.

**Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine:** The front is a small, formerly Marxist splinter group headed by Nayif Hawatmeh, a Jordanian Christian. Based in Damascus, it nevertheless retains a measure of independence while opposing Arafat's diplomatic efforts to secure Palestinian statehood. The group follows a strict pro-communism, anti-Jordanian line.

**Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine:** The Marxist-oriented front, headed by Palestinians Christian George Habash, claims more than 1,000 activists. Based in Beirut, the Popular Front is the largest PLF faction and is strongly pro-Syrian. Like Abu Musa's group, with which it is aligned, it opposes any partial recovery of former Palestinian territory.

**Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command:** This Marxist group of 1,000 to 2,000 activists was founded in 1968 and is led by Ahmed Jibril. With an estimated 800 activists, almost all of them committed, this faction is one of the most militant and least ideologically sophisticated of all the Palestinian groups. It is strongly pro-Syrian.

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# A Mediterranean nightmare

**T**heir captives, some 670 tourists from a dozen countries, had already disembarked for a day of sightseeing in Cairo and excursions to the pyramids. Then, when the sightseeing began last Monday, only 80 passengers remained aboard the Italian cruise liner Achille Lauro—guzzling waiting for luncheon dessert in the ship's dining salon. Suddenly, spraying bullets, four Palestinian terrorists armed with Soviet-made machine-guns and hand-thrown hand grenades burst from the kitchen into the dining lounge. At most passengers covered on the floor, some tried to flee—and retreated under a hail of blows. Two were injured by bullets. That dramatic entrance was the start of a 59-hour Mediterranean ordeal. By the time it ended, with the passengers—many of them elderly and disabled—and 500 crewmen helped off the ship in Port Said, Egypt, last Wednesday afternoon, one American was dead. And the remaining hostages, by their own lower accounts, had endured three days of violence, threats and unpredictable mood swings among their captors.

**Hostages:** From the beginning, the four Palestinian hijackers singled out three categories of tourists for special abuse: Jews, Britons and Americans. Soon after they seized the 35,000-ton ship they forced the passengers from the dining room into a nearby salon. Then, methodically, the hijackers began sorting passports by nationality, isolating two American Jews, 12 Americans, many of them also Jews, and six British women. "We expected to be taken to a mosque," recalled Stanley Kubacki, a judge from Philadelphia. "They just beat Americans."

Meanwhile, Capt. Gerardo De Rosa and the remaining passengers and crew were left under the wary eye of erratic and gun-toting guards. The 51-year-old captain remained on the bridge while the terrorists across the salons to guide the ship toward Syria and then to Libya. With most of the passengers bottled in

the salon, their captors sprayed the walls and ceiling with bullets—and placed gasoline bombs on the stage and the showroom entrances. The hostages slept on chairs or on the floor. They watched their captors pull guns from grenades and beat them recklessly into the air. Above all, they learned to fear their captors' mercurial mood swings. "They looked like kids who were hopped up—dopesheds or schizophrenics," said Viola Meixim of Metuchen, N.J. "They kept saying things like 'Rage on good

these women fell asleep or fainted we would all be blown up."

**Death list:** On Tuesday morning, the second day of their ordeal, the hijackers' mood grew uglier. The terrorists moved 13 of the 36 captives they had singled out to the deck above the ship's lounge and forced them to kneel. But one American, Leon Klinghoffer, a 69-year-old New Yorker and a stroke victim confined to a wheelchair, was left on the deck below. By early afternoon, as the 643-foot ship neared the Syrian port of Tartus, the hijackers told De Rosa to get them in contact with the Italian and American ambassadors in Damascus and to renounce their demand that 50 Palestinians held in Israel be set free. When the answer did not arrive promptly, the Palestinians shot Klinghoffer. He was the forehead, ordered other passengers to take his body overboard and then announced that they would kill, in sequence, the Americans, the British and the elderly. First on the death list that the captors had drawn up was Mildred Hodes of Woodbridge, N.J. When she pleaded for her life, the gunmen agreed to spare her—but they instructed De Rosa to tell the Syrians that another passenger was dead.

These machine threats hung over the passengers' heads until the hijackers concluded their negotiations with Palestinian, Italian and Egyptian officials late Wednesday afternoon. About 15 hours after the terrorists finally left the ship, a ship cleaner discovered Austrian Anna Haerangren, 53, concealed in a cabin toilet. Disabled by a foot amputation, Haerangren had been walking along a passageway when the terrorists charged past her into the dining room. Apparently overlooked, she managed to beakle into a nearby cabin, where for more than two days she hid on two apples and water. "I had only one thought: to get away," she recalled later. "It was awful. I really could not describe it. I had fear all the time."

—NANCY JAMNIGAN in Toronto



Klinghoffer and wife, Marilyn, before the cruise. Three days of terror

Anna good?" Added her husband, Seymour: "They were constantly changing their minds. They would tell us to get in line to go to the toilet, then two minutes later they would tell us to sit down."

**Granada:** The worst treatment was reserved for the 30 tourists whose nationality aroused their captors' ire. On Monday afternoon the Americans were herded to the top deck, where they spent four miserable hours exposed to the merciless Mediterranean sun. The hijackers relaxed their drunks or cigarettes, positioned two barrels of flamethrower liquid next to them and threatened to set them on fire if anyone moved. Then, while the other hostages watched, three women were forced to hold two hand grenades. Said Kubacki: "We were forced to sit very close so that if one of



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## Murder in Tottenham

Free-bladed in buses and cars, young people rioted in the streets, and members of London's best-equipped police force raised plastic shields against a hail of gasoline bombs, bricks and bottles. Last week's violent outbreak in the north London district of Tottenham, the focus in Britain's inner-city ghettos within a month, added a new element of brutality to the escalating racial confrontations between blacks and police. Surpassing the scene, one bewildered officer declared, "This isn't England!" During more than six hours of intense street fighting, a gang of 50 machine-wielding rioters killed one policeman, Keith Blakelock, a 40-year-old father of three, and wounded several other officers with firearms.

In the end, more than 500 policemen were injured. It was, some commentators declared, the worst single night of rioting in modern British history. Lamenting the "major turn in the course of public disorder," Metropolitan London Police Commissioner Sir Kenneth Newman said that in the future—as in "Singapore, London, Sydney, and Los Angeles"—the police will be required to use plastic bullets and anti-

riot gas against mobs. And as the governing Conservative party's annual conference in Blackpool, Home Secretary Douglas Hurd announced that the government will "seek Parliament's approval to increase to life imprisonment the maximum penalty for the carrying of firearms by criminals."

The government's actions reflected growing concern that after what appeared to be a spontaneous riot in Birmingham's Handsworth district on Sept. 9—the first in the current outbreak of disorder—the violence has become increasingly organized. Hurd, supporting Newman's announcement of forceful riot control methods, said there was "no shadow of excuse" for the riots. "In former times a man might be forgiven for reacting to feed his starving family," he said, rejecting opposition calls for an independent inquiry into social conditions in Britain's black ghettos. "But it is not poverty which leads people to burn down post offices, loot TV sets and make vicious attacks on the police." For his part, Liberal party leader David Steel said: "There is increasing evidence that 'traveling agitators'

were responsible for inciting the riots.

That suspicion widened after the Britain riots on Sept. 28, when police alleged that outside agitators had been stirring up black discontent. After last week's Tottenham incident, police discovered additional evidence that the rioters had been preparing for conflict. In the street, trunks and supermarket carts had been loaded with concrete blocks and gasoline bombs had been hidden at key strategic points, such as the overbridged flyovers linking high-rise apartment blocks.

The Tottenham rioting was confined to the Broadwater Farm apartment complex, which, though it was an architectural design award when it was built in the late 1960s, resembles a concrete prison maze—"grip, grim and ugly," according to one tenant. Poverty and unemployment are at high levels, with nearly 70 per cent of the inhabitants dependent on welfare and 90 per cent perpetually behind in their rent. Vandalism, theft and drug trafficking are common features of everyday life. But Newman said that evidence implicates Trotskyites or anarchists in the violence. And he added that the Tottenham riot had not been—as black leaders claimed—sparked by the death of Cynthia Jarrell, 26, who died of a heart attack in 1981. It follows police raiding tenements in a vain search for stolen goods.

Instead, said Newman, criminal elements had used her death—"the respectable mantle of dignity and grief"—to set off the riot.

Still, many observers said that the basic causes are more complex. "We are paying the price for decades of neglect of serious crime," said Lord Labour Party officials added that unemployment—at more than 10 per cent among Britain's black population—was another major contributor to the spiral of violence. Even Tony Blair, who said that the recent incident is simply the work of "idle youths. At the Broadwater Farm riot, since the issue of race relations was obligingly introduced when postmortem speakers debated immigration matters. Some Tories said that government policies inadequately restrict the country's already large black and Asian immigrant population. No resolution emerged from the debate, which may have been staged by conference organizers to preclude heated outbursts from right-wingers.

All four riots—at Handsworth, Brinsford, Tottenham and in Liverpool's Toxteth district—followed incidents between police and the black community. The riot in Brinsford broke out after police mistakenly shot Cherry Grace, a 28-year-old mother of six, during a raid on her home. The shooting left Grace paralyzed from the waist down. And



Police victim of riot, 'no excuse'

Maria Stewart, a National Council of Civil Liberties legal adviser. "We always march under a banner in support of our police against whom you will never have to give evidence in court."

The current wave of riots, Stewart told Reuters, reflects a total absence of trust. Based on its black community, how little faith in their own leaders' ability to settle complaints against the police, because existing grievance committees are merely advisory. As a result, she said, relations between the police and black communities are so volatile that "violence flares up soon as one of these tragic errors occurs." Some black community leaders say that overt racism from a largely white police force—only 21% of nearly 32,000 policemen in Metropolitan London are black or Asian—has created deep-seated rage in inner-city ghettos.

But following Blakelock's brutal murder, black anger has been matched by the determination of the police to stop the rioting. "I wish to put the people of London on notice," Newman declared. Defending his plan to equip his men with plastic bullets and riot gas, he added "I will not shrink from such a decision should it believe it a practical option for preventing crime and injury."

—BARRY SHORE in London

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Winner Carlos Silva, outgoing Soares, accusations of 11 years of economic duress

#### PORTUGAL

## A vote with a message

For the 12th time in 11 years Portugal last week held a national election. The frequency of the voting is a clear reflection of the nation's continuing political instability. Indeed, about 25 per cent of the nation's 7.6 million eligible voters did not cast ballots—the highest abstention rate since a 1974 coup ended 50 years of military dictatorship. Those who did vote delivered a sharp rebuff to three-term Socialist Prime Minister Mário Soares. The Socialists lost 45 seats, nearly half of what they held in the 250-member national assembly. The major winner was the centrist Social Democrats, who won 80 seats and almost 30 per cent of the vote. Still, with no single party commanding an absolute majority, the prospects for stable government in Portugal seemed as elusive as ever. Yowed António de Almeida Santos, a potential successor to Soares as Socialist Party leader: "We have lost a battle but we have not lost the war."

As a result, Social Democrat leader António Cavaco Silva, 46, who forced the election by pulling his party out of the 30-month-old Soares coalition government in June, is expected to form a minority government this week. A former finance minister and economics professor at Lisbon's Catholic University, Cavaco Silva campaigned aggressively on a platform of national renewal, blaming the Socialists for 11 years of economic deterioration. Portugal is currently undergoing a 30-per-cent inflation rate—Europe's highest—and a \$40.6-billion (U.S.) foreign debt. But last

week's refusal by the fifth-place Christian Democrats to join Cavaco Silva in coalition diminished his chances of gaining parliamentary approval for a new economic program before a scheduled presidential election in January.

The surprise finisher last week was the three-month-old Democratic Renewal Party (PRD), which won 44 seats and finished third. The party, with a vaguely defined populist platform of democratic socialism, was created as a political vehicle for the president, Gen. António Ramalho Eanes, 56, whose term of office expires in January. Political analysts say that Eanes, premised by law from seeking a third consecutive term, would like to be prime minister before running again for the presidency when his successor's five-year term is up. Eanes's wife, Manuela, led the PRD in the election because he was barred from campaigning while still in office.

The results were a serious setback for the 60-year-old Soares's own presidential aspirations. His administration, observers said, was hit by economic instability, measures which alienated his main supporters—Portugal's middle- and lower-income groups. A clear verdict in the presidential poll might restore discipline to Portuguese politics. But with Soares vowing to maintain his candidacy, many observers said that the January vote might be inconclusive, leading to another political instability—and another parliamentary election in the spring.

—PHIL KILMAN in Lisbon

#### EL SALVADOR

## A challenge for Duarte

The army recruits, many of them just 17 or 18 years old, were asleep in their bunks when the first rockets and mortar shells hit in a savage protracted assault, leftist guerrillas last week swarmed into the perimeter of El Salvador's main military training camp, outside the eastern coastal city of La Unión. As the recruits fired automatic rifles and lobbed grenades into the tin-walled barracks, dazed soldiers stumbled out into the darkness firing M-16 rifles. Helicopter gunships from a nearby army base finally drove off the attackers. But after three hours of fighting some 150 government troops were dead or wounded, most of them raw recruits with less than four weeks' basic training. Five American military advisers on the camp were badly injured, but the guerrillas force, estimated at about 300, left 10 dead behind.

The rebel Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) launched the attack on the FMLN university of its founding. And it took place just one month after guerrillas abducted Salvadoran President José Napoleón Duarte's 50-year-old daughter, Isis. The insurgents are also holding captive the mothers of 23 troops. Duarte has already met some guerrilla demands, releasing the first of 54 prisoners on Oct. 1. But the rebels refused to negotiate the release of the 23 women, and they demanded freedom for 38 more guerrillas. Although the abduction has won Duarte public sympathy, it has strained his relations with the armed forces—a vital base of support.

The army endorsed the initial prisoner release, but after last week's guerrilla raid—in an area considered safe from such attacks—the military is reluctant to meet further ransom demands. Said one high-ranking officer: "As a soldier we understand Duarte. But as a president, there is also the business of national security to consider."

As the first civilian president in 60 years to win the army's confidence, Salvadoran elections in 1984, Duarte is the key to a unified effort against the guerrillas—and to the preservation of democracy in El Salvador. Damage to his credibility could be a major blow to the nation's morale and to the war effort. Said one Salvadoran government official: "This is the biggest crisis we have ever faced. I don't think things are going to be quite the same when it is all over." □

#### PEOPLE

Mavis later and housewife Susan Kays, 36, Vancouver last week to help The Bay celebrate its Canada-wide Italian Week, appeared frightened as she made her entrance, one hour late, at a lavish reception at her home. But she recovered quickly, shook hands with most of those present and remarked that she "perfectly at ease—once I am there. It is only the moment before entering when my heart goes thump-thump." The Vancouver actress, whose business activities include the production of a line of perfume bearing her name, added that her apprehension is not the adrenalin-producing form of stage fright that can engender a more successful performance. Said Loren: "It is too much I prefer not to have it."

Producer, actor, singer and civil rights activist Harry Belafonte, 58, who spent in Ottawa in mid-November before he moved on to concert engagements in Hamilton, Ont., and Montreal, is scheduled to receive The Film Fund's first annual Arts and Justice Award on Oct. 23 in his home hotel of New York City. Funded in 1971, The Film Fund is a national U.S. foundation which gives financial support exclusively to the production of social-issue films. Belafonte and featuring Bill Cosby as master of ceremonies, the gala presentation in Broadway's Regency Theatre will include performances and tributes by a variety of Baltimoreans, including Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, longtime friend Sidney Poitier and daughter Shari Belafonte-Lewis. Rita Parris, the Black

Belafonte is, quite an honor and a treat



Loren, her own perfume and a shopping haul

woman whose refusal to move to the back of a Montgomery, Ala., bus launched several civil rights protests in the 1950s, is also scheduled to attend. A dedicated civil rights supporter, Belafonte praised The Film Fund for its "contribution to the pursuit of truth" and said that the organization "has done a great honor. I am proud to be a part of the family." He added, "Every day activists in the human rights struggle get rewarded for their commitment to controversial issues."

Best-selling British adventure novelist **Hammond Innes**, 72, completed a seven-day, four-city tour of Canada last week on behalf of the new novel *High Storm*, his 15th book and the fourth with a Canadian setting. Innes, who changed his first name, Ralph, professionally in favor of his double surname 50 years ago, travelled in British Columbia and the Yukon in 1987 to gather information for *High Storm*. While there, he formed an opinion of what he calls "outback" Canadians. Declared Innes: "They start in lying right away about the essentials, like whether they believe in God and whether they'll get through the winter." Set in the wilds of the Yukon, *High Storm* is an old-fashioned tale of intrigue and treachery, drawn with descriptions and narrated by a young man who starts off as a wheeler and ends up a hero—in bed with the girl. Declared Innes: "Six in the wilderness

is a natural aspect of a man's and woman's relationship as they struggle against the environment. Sex for the sake of sex is a silly thing."

British novelist **Sarah Kays** (spelled) Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's 1985 Conservative party victory celebration when she announced that her former boss, then-chancellor minister **Cecil Parkinson**, had been her lover for 12 years and that she was expecting his child. In an indication of more scandal, last week Tory-blue party members were purple with rage prior to the publication of excerpts from Kays's memoir, *A Question of Judgment*, in *The Mirror*. The knee-and-tail Kays, 38, and her publishers, the newly formed Question Press, sold the excerpts to the *paper* daily tabloid for a reported \$200,000, and the *The Mirror* began to publish them during the Conservative party's annual meeting in Blackpool. The excerpts, however, turned out to be tamer than the advance publicity—there were only two minor references to Cabinet business. In Blackpool, party chairman **Norman Tebbit** described Kays as the co-moderator of an anti-union meeting and said, "This is the Conservative party conference, not a symposium on sexual titillation."

—GEOFFREY LAMBERT

Reasons show Innes had a purple rage



# Walter Wolf breaks rank

From the beginning of his rise to influential status in Montreal in the mid-1980s, Austrian-born Canadian multi-millionaire Walter Wolf has often been associated with some of the most prominent Progressive Conservatives in the country. Wolf's business associates have included Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Ontario Newfound head premier Frank Miller, Montreal lawyer Michel Côté—a former personal attorney to Mulroney who now serves the same role for Wolf—and Mulroney senior adviser Jean Alfred (Fred) Doucet. Indeed, in 1983 Wolf owned 30,333 shares worth \$480,000 of the Halifax-based energy company East Coast Energy Ltd. (EC), of which Doucet was the chief executive officer from 1981 to 1983. But in recent years, amid growing controversy about Wolf's involvement with the Tories, the relationship between him and his former colleagues has cooled noticeably, especially with Doucet. Mulroney's has warmed that on Oct. 2, Wolf filed a \$300,467 suit in the Supreme Court of Ontario against Doucet alleging that he misrepresented the nature of EC as an investment.

The suit, aimed at one of Mulroney's oldest friends and trusted political advisors in the Prime Minister's Office, was bound to deepen the divisions between Wolf and the Tories. Reached by telephone in his villa in France last Friday, Wolf told Mulroney's "I do not say I want to fight with the government, but there are some people involved with this government that have not been fair with me."

In his pleading, to which Doucet has not yet legally responded, Wolf makes a number of allegations. He charges that on Dec. 30, 1982, Doucet contacted Côté, then as Wolf's agent, and told him that shares of EC were to be traded through the Toronto brokerage house Meland Young Wier Ltd. (MYW). Côté, on behalf of Wolf, told Doucet that the businessman would be interested in buying shares only as a short-term investment and only if he could be given assurance that the company would be listed on a major Canadian stock exchange. According to the suit, Doucet undertook that the shares would be listed on the Toronto Stock Exchange (TSE) no later than the last day of March, 1983. As with "Wolf" alleges that he "reliably relied on the signature and warranty" of the document and that he for the representation and warranty. But

would not have purchased" the shares.

But an application to have the shares listed on the TSE was rejected in October, 1983, because EC "did not meet the capitalization requirements of that

in its dealings with him on the matter.

While months of Wolf's purchase of the shares their value plummeted to about \$0.30 per share from a high of \$25. According to the suit, in July, 1983, Côté, on behalf of Wolf, sold all the shares held by the Wolf to MYW for \$158,528, and the damages claimed reflect the loss he suffered. Said Wolf recently: "I was perhaps stupid to get in in the first place, but at least I was smart enough to get out in time to save some money."

Doucet, a politician figure who has known Mulroney since their student days at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, N.S., initially said he knew nothing of the suit. Later he told Mulroney, "I repudiate the claim, and I have instructed counsel to defend the claim." Meanwhile, a spokesman for the PMO said that Mulroney was not familiar with the case and he refused further comment because the matter was before the courts.

For EC, the share slump was the most visible sign of the increasing instability financial health. The company was founded in 1981 by Doucet and his brother Gerald, a lawyer and former cabinet minister in Nova Scotia's Tory government. At the time, large gas and oil discoveries were expected off the Nova Scotia coast. According to a memo obtained by Mulroney and sent by Côté to Donald Wright of the Toronto lawyer representing Wolf, Doucet represented Wolf in the current suit, Doucet representing Côté. "In confidence," that suit would be the company chosen by the Nova Scotia government to carry out the distribution of natural gas in the province.

Indeed, soon acquired a 30 per cent Gas



Wolf & Doucet deal gone sour and a \$300,467 lawsuit

Ltd., which was seeking to be chosen by the government to distribute natural gas from Sable Island to the Nova Scotia mainland. In an earlier AGO decision dated Dec. 31, 1982, the brokerage firm of Wood Gundy Ltd. told clients: "G's partner [EC], which is a consortium of Nova Scotia businessmen well-connected to the Nova Scotia government" would appear to give EC the inside track on the contract."

But hopes of a bonanza were never realized. By early 1983 EC was \$5 million in debt, while for the first half of that year it took in only \$27,000 in oil and gas revenues. EC was listed on the Alberta Stock Exchange in Nov. 28, 1983, after merging with Petroleum Republics Ltd., a Calgary-based company that was then \$33 million in debt. The application for listing on the ASE was made by Petroleum's then-chief operating officer, Stanley W. Jones.

Jones told Mulroney's last week that the merger was agreed to on condition that funding be forthcoming for the merged company. "Doucet assured me that they had an underwriter [MYW] prepared to proceed, but it became apparent as we worked out the terms of the agreement that the underwriters were not so much on board as had been indicated to me," Jones said. "The implication was that the underwriting was better done because of the special conditions that Doucet could bring to the table—his personal connections." But in the summer of 1983 Doucet left the company to become Mulroney's chief of staff. By the time EC was petitioned into bankruptcy by the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce last June 1, where Jones had dropped out as an owner. Among the investors who bought shares in EC and eventually lost their money were Mulroney (\$10,000) and former Tory party president Michael Mearns (\$25,000).

For Wolf, the suit may lead to even more scrutiny of his controversial relationship with the Tories. Last year columnist and Tory political adviser Dalton Camp identified Wolf as a major "offshore" financial backer of the dump-Clark Clark movement in the early 1980s. Wolf had admitted paying \$200,000 in directors' fees to two sons, Côté and Moore, who were active in the anti-Clark movement. But he insisted that the money was unrelated to their political activities. Moores, who refused to speak with Mulroney's last week, has since denied moving the money.

Wolf's name also came up in connection with a series of implausible break-ins that occurred in Montreal overnight period between February and September last year. The break-ins at Conservative Party offices, where the Wolf-owned company pumped police,

who could find no discernible motive or connection between the incidents. Last December an ex-convict told the Montreal Gazette that he had been hired by a person he would not name to uncover financial links between Wolf and the Tories. Wolf told Mulroney's shortly after that he believed the break-ins were being carried out by someone "person of



Doucet Côté (below) shared his



Mulroney and [who] think they can get him through me."

Mulroney has also learned that in the summer of 1984 the Halifax office of Donald Ripley, a vice-president of MYW, was broken into. Ripley, who knows the Doucets well, had worked with them on behalf of Mulroney during the 1983 election.

ship campaign. Denied Ripley "Somebody broke into our office and tried to steal that [MYW] file." Although he has no criminal record, he has been charged with the 1984 sex assault, and police were never called in. After the break-in Ripley sent the sex files to the new office in Toronto.

At the same time, a lawsuit against Wolf by MYW alleging that Wolf owed the company \$200,000 as a result of dealings in EC has already gone through the examination for discovery stage and is to go on to trial, although a date has not been set. Wolf claims that when he received EC was a money loan he decided to sell his stock to save it's part, the company says that it acquired Wolf's stock as collateral on a \$500,000 loan and that Wolf was obliged to buy the stock back for that amount.

About his controversial relationship with the Tories, Wolf said last week: "I am finished with doing work for the government. All that happens when I do is that I get the shit piled on me that belongs on them." Indeed, in the past year Wolf has sharply criticized Mulroney and his entourage in conversations with friends. Although Wolf has known Mulroney since the 1960s and sat in his box at the 1976 leadership convention which Mulroney lost, he described the Prime Minister last December as "an acquaintance, but not a man I would call a friend." Wolf refused to give his version of Mulroney last week, saying: "I do not wish to talk about that man. But Wolf said that has not against Doucet was not politically motivated. "I think I am owed \$500,000," he declared. "What I am saying is that I want it back."

But the new suit is likely to exacerbate tensions already prevalent in Tory party ranks, because it places two of Mulroney's oldest friends, Doucet and Côté, on opposite sides of a dispute. The legal action, that now launched against Wolf in April last year had already pined Thomas Kiersey, MYW president and a prominent Ontario Tory, against Côté, a top Quebec Tory. Côté was in Paris last week on business "We do not and could not be reached for comment."

But those difficulties do not appear to trouble Wolf, who blames the Tories for much of the unwelcome publicity he has received in Canada in recent years. The 50-year-old businessman is clearly on the offensive. He said last week: "I did not ask for war with anyone in the first place. But if anyone wants to pick a fight with me, that is exactly what they are going to get."

—ANTHONY MELANO-WHITE with MICHAEL WALLACE in Montreal, CHUCK WOOD in Halifax, and JOHN MACDONALD in Ottawa

# A crisis of confidence for the banks

The conservatively dressed, grey-haired man who took the stand in Ottawa last week as the first witness in Supreme Court Justice William Roster's inquiry into last month's Alberta bank failures has a reputation as a gruff, no-nonsense career banker. Indeed, when George Hitchman, a former deputy chairman of the Bank of Nova Scotia, delivered a succinct report to Ottawa last summer assessing the financial health of the Edmonton-based Canadian Commercial Bank (ccb), the document convinced the government to shut the bank. Last week the report was made public when Roster addressed the Roster inquiry. And what Hitchman had to say about the ccb was nothing short of an indictment of the bank's management, auditors and directors and the government's bank regulators. Hitchman described a money-laundering bank in chaos, staffed by executives who make loans that he called "fancy deals," and of a government that acted too late to bank the collapse. In fact, he told Roster that the ccb's \$2.6-billion loan portfolio would probably never be recovered.

Hitchman's alarming testimony again shook confidence in the Canadian banking system during a week in which the aftermaths from the failure of the ccb and the Calgary-based Northland Bank were hitting other small financial institutions. Early in the week there were reports that large commercial depositors were pulling their money out of the Montreal-based Mercantile Bank, Canada's eighth largest, with assets of \$4.4 billion. On Thursday the Mercantile confirmed that the country's six largest chartered banks had agreed to replace the lost deposits, a industry sources said that about 2,000 offices had been contacted. The bank also revealed that,

as a condition for the support, a team of auditors from the big banks would move into the Mercantile's offices and begin recovering its operations. And by week's end, a spokesman for a major Canadian corporate credit rating agency, Canadian Bond Rating Service, said that ccb had stopped raising the bank's credit worthiness because "both individuals

Northland, he had asked the inspector general of banks to arrange a highly unusual inspection as a way of restoring confidence in the bank. A team of 30 bankers from the country's six largest banks had spent the previous eight days studying the Continental's loan portfolio. The team of outside bankers, which examined a loan portfolio of more than \$4 billion, concluded that the Continental was viable and engaged in normal lending practices, according to a bank statement.

Indeed, Maclean's has learned that the five-year-old Continental, which with assets of \$4.2 billion is Canada's seventh-largest bank, was rapidly losing commercial deposits. One senior executive of a Toronto-based trust company, who requested anonymity as a condition for discussing the issue, said that he had been advised by his company's investment manager to remove a \$1-million deposit from the Continental.

As well, the president of another major Toronto-based corporation, who also asked not to be identified publicly, told Maclean's that three weeks ago Continental officials informed him that a standard borrowing instrument known as a Banker's Acceptance, which depends on the credit worthiness of the bank, was no longer available. Declined an officer with another bank. "It is a signal that they cannot fund themselves. It means

they cannot lend new money, they cannot do new business. The next question is, will existing business roll over?" Added Roy Palmer, bank analyst at the brokerage firm of Alfred Barratt & Co Ltd in Montreal. "Shaking hinges on confidence. After the Canadian Commercial Bank and Northland failures people are asking, 'Who is next?'"

In an interview with Maclean's, Continental's Lewis said just such questions

had plagued his bank. Since insurance coverage after the Labor Day announcement of the ccb's collapse, the Continental has been experiencing a "liquidity squeeze," he said. Through out the month of September depositors performed

to place their money for shorter terms, and fewer money traders bought the Continental's standard short-term securities. Two weeks ago, when Ottawa announced that it intended to liquidate the Northland, Lewis recalled "We said, 'oh boy this is it. You could feel that the concerns increased throughout the system. People were saying as to us.' Indeed, Lewis said the concerns continued until last week, which was "the worst week yet."

Parsons observed the private sector remains takes in an effort to restore confidence were significant. Commented one Ottawa insider: "The government has lost control of the situation. The big six banks got so annoyed they decided if the government can't run this, we'll run it."

The erosion of confidence in smaller financial institutions is the result of actions by the large institutional money traders—corporate, government and pension fund money managers—who shape the conventional banking world. With deposits totaling into billions of dollars—far above the deposit insurance limit of \$60,000—they have been abandoning some smaller banks because they are concerned about losing their money if one of these institutions failed. Said Robert Macdonald, president of the Canadian Bankers' Association: "The general public has never been involved in this fight problem. A run on the bank in 1982 is not a hangar around the block."

Added Alex Grieger, investment manager with F.H. Doucet, Hodgson Inc in Vancouver: "If you are a pension fund manager and maybe you got stuck at the ccb and you are going in front of your finance committee, they are saying, 'What have you done to avoid it this time?'"

Beneath the visible jitter there is a clear acknowledgment that there are large differences between the two Bank-

ers and most profitable banks in the United States. Indeed, analysts speculate that Citibank, which also owns another banking operation named Citibank Canada, is interested in a merger of the two failures. Another threat in the financial community is that the National Bank is interested in a merger.

While rumors continued to circulate about a third bank failure, in Ottawa the Roster commission was hearing extensive evidence about mismanagement at the ccb. Hitchman said the inquiry that even after a \$225-million rescue in March, the bank continued to commit errors of judgment in extending loans. He gave examples of ccb loans that caused the audience in the drab downtown Ottawa office building rows to wince.

In his first report of Aug. 12, based on 84 loans totalling \$403 million, Hitchman said the bank needed "didn't contain the material necessary to analyze the loans," even though the files were "extremely busy." Hitchman said that of the 84 scenarios, 28 lacked financial statements, 11 had financial statements that were out of date and 45 others had financial statements that were missing important details.

For her part, in an interview with Maclean's, Minister of State for Finance Barbara McDougall continued to downplay the significance of the failure of the two Alberta banks and dismissed rumors about the Mercantile as the result of "overheated groups." But she did say depositors "had taken the banking system for granted, and I think they're now going to be more thoughtful about how they view the system."

That could be an indication of the way the government would handle a future financial crisis, says Alexander, a senior leader of the Broadbent, who, along with Liberal Leader John Turner, had a private meeting with McDougall last Thursday about the Mercantile situation, the government gave no guarantee that it would support the bank.

But analysts and banking officials expressed a desire for action to stabilize the financial system. Said Sam Montgomery, president of Credit Union Deposit Insurance Corp. of British Columbia in Vancouver: "Obviously we have quite a problem with a third financial institution failing. That scares me." Added Toronto-based Merrill Lynch Canada Inc. "Banks are now the victims of decisions that are predicated on emotion and frenzy. If we work into a frenzy over the Mercantile, we will put it under."

GLEN ALLEN with MICHAEL BAKER and PAUL GOSSELINK, OTTAWA, and ALEXANDER, MICHAEL SAUTER and NANCY HEST in Toronto



Lewis after two bank failures, people are asking, 'Who's next?'



McDougall (above) as minister of management

finding cash to meet its obligations and has a relatively large portfolio of non-performing loans, it was not involved, as were the ccb and the Northland, analysts say.

As well, the Mercantile has a strong shareholder in Citibank N.A., one of the



# Fashioning a finance industry giant

When Genstar Corp. was orchestrating its stunning takeover of Toronto-based Canada Permanent Mortgage Corp. in 1981, Genstar chairman Angus MacNaughton and president Ross Turner quietly planned the attack in their make-up-crimsoned San Francisco executive offices overlooking the Golden Gate Bridge. Gen-

star—and that 30 overlapping locations will be closed within two years. Said Genstar's Turner: "We are creating the sixth-largest financial institution in Canada."

With assets of \$30.7 billion, the merged trust company is Canada's newest financial services giant. It will compete with such industry heavy-

weights as Montreal-based Power Financial Corp., owned by Paul Desmarais, and Peter and Edward Brodman's Trillium Financial Corp. The Canada Trust takeover is the boldest and most costly move in Genstar's 24-year history, and the enterprise will face risks. At the same time, the takeover cost has left the company with a debt of more than \$1 billion.



Lahn, Hilliker: a shotgun wedding between a corporate old maid and an industry playboy creates a \$27-billion firm

star's image as an outsider to troubled Canadian regulators that the Foreign Investment Review Agency examined whether the manufacturing and land development conglomerate qualified as a Canadian firm and could legally buy Canada's fourth-largest trust company. Indeed, although Genstar was incorporated in British Columbia, it did most of its business in the United States and was 44.3 per cent owned by a Belgian investment firm. When the same company spent \$1.2 billion two months ago to seize control of London, Ont.-based Canada Trust Mortgage Co.—the country's largest trust company—and then announced that it would merge Canada Trust with the Permanent, Genstar became a major institution in Canada's financial community.

Last week, as top executives from Canada Trust and the Permanent worked on the three-year task of merging the two companies, MacNaughton learned that the new company would be called Canada Trust Mortgage Co.—the Permanent's name will disap-

pear—and that 30 overlapping locations will be closed within two years. Said Genstar's Turner: "We are creating the sixth-largest financial institution in Canada."

With assets of \$30.7 billion, the merged trust company is Canada's newest financial services giant. It will compete with such industry heavy-

weights as Montreal-based Power Financial Corp., owned by Paul Desmarais,

and Peter and Edward Brodman's Trillium Financial Corp. The Canada Trust takeover is the boldest and most costly move in Genstar's 24-year history, and the enterprise will face risks. At the same time, the takeover cost has left the company with a debt of more than \$1 billion.

MacNaughton and Turner now face the formidable task of overseeing the merger of two vastly different companies, each headed by individualistic executives. John Hilliker, chairman and chief executive officer (CEO) of the Permanent, and Marcys Lahn, Canada Trust's president and CEO. Said the president of another Canadian trust company, who requested anonymity as a condition for discussing the transaction: "The Permanent is old maidish, relatively backward, not well mechanized and in constant internal Canada Trust is totally opposite. It's go-go and perhaps overzealous."

Still, the Montreal-born Mac-



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"Being CEO means the buck stops here. Without that it would not be a position in which I could work well." **Rold Merrill Lynch's Shauzeny** "Canada Trust is the best-run financial institution in the country."

Under Lahn, who became Canada Trust's CEO in 1979, the company won customers by offering innovative services while also adopting many of the more conservative practices of a bank. Dedicated to attracting and serving consumer depositors, Canada Trust has surprised many analysts in the financial industry by planning such operations as daily interest accounts, variable-rate mortgages and extended banking hours (8 a.m. to 8 p.m.). And last spring it launched an ingenious mortgage-burning campaign in which the winner of a monthly draw successfully burned his old mortgage.

As a result of these campaigns, consumer depositors at the trust company's 306 branches now account for 37 percent of the company's revenues. At the same time, with total assets of \$13.8 billion, Canada Trust also has \$1 billion in corporate loans, the largest portfolio of business loans in the trust industry.

In contrast with its innovative cousin, Canada Permanent, with 160 branches and assets of \$7.5 billion, is as traditional as the 1828 stone-and-brick facade on its Toronto head office. The Permanent



**David C. MacNaughton, Goldway Trust's**

is best-known for traditional trust company functions—handling family estates and house sales—evident in its police-and-brown real estate signs which dot Canadian lawns. When Genstar acquired the company in 1981, analysts rated its profit performance an underdog. Still, since Hillier joined the company in 1982, the Permanent has more than doubled its profits, to \$51.1 million last year. For his part, Hillier said that he is delighted to have the benefit of Lahn's marketing expertise. He added, "It is an asset, a big asset."

For Genstar, the task of overseeing the merger of the two trust companies is taking place at the end of a long struggle to buy Canada Trust. Lahn, who traditionally opposed a takeover of his company—the last of Canada's trust companies without a controlling shareholder—fought Genstar hard. To win the battle, Genstar offered shareholders \$45.20 per share, a price that some analysts felt was too high. But, said Genstar's Turner, "we do not feel we overpaid. We feel we got superb value."

Still, the transaction left Genstar with a staggering debt of \$1 billion, which it is now seeking to reduce. Last week it began selling \$235 million of new shares, part of a series that will raise a total of \$437 million. Genstar also plans to sell off at least \$500 million of its



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SEBT billion in assets in order to reduce its borrowing.

Using large amounts of borrowed money to finance takeovers and then rapidly paying down the debt has been a traditional strategy of Genstar under MacNaughton and Turner. Founded in 1951 in Montreal by the family of Genstar's co-founder, Genstar first operated small elevator, fertilizer and cement companies in Quebec Canada and ran tugboat and barge transportation in British Columbia.

But MacNaughton, who left his job as an auditor with the accounting firm of

Copers & Lybrand in Montreal to join Genstar in 1955, and Turner, an accountant and former president of Seaplan International Ltd who joined MacNaughton in 1976, dramatically altered the company through a series of major purchases. In a two-stage operation in 1976, Genstar bought Toronto-based Abbey Glen Property Corp., which was then Canada's sixth-largest real estate developer and owner of a valuable 40,000-acre land bank in Ontario, Quebec and Western Canada, for a bargain \$70 million. Then, in 1979 Genstar made its first major entry into the United

States by paying \$400 million for Connecticut-based Princeton Co., a building materials manufacturer.

In 1980 Genstar moved its executive offices to San Francisco in order to be closer to the western U.S. real estate market, where it was becoming increasingly active. And last year Genstar acquired 40 per cent of a Boston-based waste management company, its Services Inc., for \$200 million. As a result of Turner's and MacNaughton's purchases, Genstar has stockpiled assets of \$2.87 billion, up from assets of only \$607 million 10 years ago.

Still, Genstar's use of borrowed money to expand backfired during the 1981-1982 recession, when the value of its extensive house-building and real estate operations in Western Canada and the United States suddenly dropped. The company lost \$80 million during 1982. But Genstar sold enough assets and raised enough cash to cover the losses, saving it from permanent damage.

The recession experience confirmed MacNaughton's and Turner's decision, made two years earlier, to diversify into the financial services area. But the cost of taking over financial institutions in the United States was unrealistically high. Said Turner: "To become a force there required a larger investment than we had."

But in Canada Genstar was able to take a significant first step in its new strategy of becoming a financial services company by taking over Canada Permanent in 1981 for \$200 million. And last July, just four weeks before buying Canada Trust, Genstar purchased 30 per cent of Gordon Capital Corp., the powerful Toronto investment dealer. Genstar is planning to turn an investment management company with Gordon.

Genstar's activities this year have led some financial executives to wonder changing their tactics to compete with Genstar's merged Canada Trustco, said Michael Cornehan, president of Toronto-based Royal Trustco Ltd.: "It will take Genstar a long time to put those two giants together. That gives us an opportunity to offer better services to our clients." Gilles Meunier, president of the Montreal-based National Bank of Canada, added that the new company will be "an awesome competitor in commercial lending."

The new Canada Trustco will require MacNaughton and Turner to spend more time in Canada—they intend to shuttle back and forth from San Francisco to their Goldstream, B.C. executive jet. But their presence will also enhance their profile among their mainly Canadian shareholders. Said Turner last week: "Now we are viewed even more as a major player."

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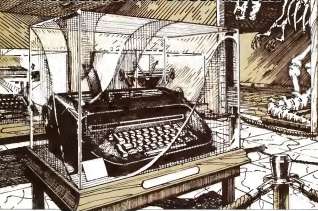
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## Cashing in on cable

The episode of *Monty Python's* award-winning children's show *Pollin Deur* was playing on television in the Gloucester Hotel in London, England. But the audience was a lone buyer from Children's Channel, one of Britain's new cable programming companies, who was considering buying the series from the Toronto-based educational TV company. The special showing took place earlier this month during an international TV production trade show, and it is an increasingly familiar occurrence as Canadian companies fight for a foothold in the new, lucrative world of British and European cable and satellite broadcasting. David McQuinn's sales manager, Justin Gurnea, "We cannot afford to ignore this market."

Although North America has had cable TV for 35 years and about 50 per cent of all homes carry cable, only eight per cent of European homes have cable TV. And governments in Western Europe and Great Britain are only now taking a serious interest in technologies that can bring dozens of channels and services, such as teleshopping and telebanking, into the home. West Germany, for one, is spending \$1.6 billion over the next three years on four pilot projects. France has earmarked \$5.5 billion to launch its first nationwide cable TV network in Britain 16 companies have received franchises to operate the first regional cable systems and five more will gain franchise rights by January. Political and regulatory walls have delayed some of the schemes. But many Canadian companies are moving ahead now to ensure that they get a share of the first sales. David Peter Lyman, a consulting partner with the Ottawa communications consulting firm of Neudaily Group Ltd., "It is a tough market, but Canada could get a decent chunk."

The Canadian government has launched an aggressive marketing strategy in Europe to assist Canadian firms. Since 1982 Canada has invested \$400,000 helping Canadian companies compete against such major European suppliers as Siemens AG of West Germany and Philips Electronics of Holland. And as cable TV trade fairs in Basel, Switzerland, in 1984 and Birmingham, England, last April, the government created an elaborate Big-shoulder pavilion to house the displays of Canadian companies. Those fairs led to an estimated \$12 million in business for Canadian firms. Last April five Montreal-based companies, including the consulting and engineering company SNC Group Ltd. and Le Groupe Victor-Lafite, a cable system operator, formed Cables Telegroup specifically



Robert McQuinn: offshore contracts

to capture business in Europe. Cables has already invested about \$300,000 completing for several projects, including consulting contracts for new London-area cable systems and for the installation of model systems in Basel and Geneva. Like many Canadian firms, Cables is forming joint ventures with companies in each country in order to improve its chances in the face of nationalistic buying policies. David Cables' president, Robert McQuinn, "In the next three years we anticipate \$5 to \$10 million in business."

Other companies have already found a niche. London Specialty Products Ltd., a cable electronics supplier in London, Ont., is installing cable systems in Ireland worth about \$700,000 and is bidding for another \$2-million contract in that country. It has also set up distributing subsidiaries in England and Sweden.

Still, private-sector executives say that technological change is always expensive and that to succeed in new markets it is important to find a foothold early. Indeed, as early as this fall that percentage may bring the Canadian-made *Pollin Deur* to British children.

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# A vintage crop of business books

By Peter C. Newman

**T**his is such a vintage season for books about Canadian business because most authors are now so not only balance sheets and profit curves but the serious systems and spiritual ecology of the people who run the companies are writing about. And—let's face it—their subject matter transcends the Montreal-Ottawa-Toronto axis; too many accounts writers in the past have worried they might get nosebleeds if they ventured west of the Hudson River.

The big surprise is *A Matter of Trust* (Viking) by Montreal's business editor Patricia Bori and freelance writer Ann Sherfield, which documents the power and privilege of Canada's \$50-billion trust companies. This immediately structured and superbly researched study manages to turn the internal politics of the notoriously staid firm into fascinating and even comical reading. The authors' reprise of the Royal Trust offer provides the best case history yet of how this country's Establishment comes to find its authors. The reconstruction of the intricate chess-matching *Living Peter* Packington's takeover and eventual loss—at Fidelity Trust Co. contradicts anyone who still thinks trust companies are dull. Here, for a taste, is a quote from Brendan Cullen, brought into a Fidelity's new president: "It's the first three months I had a run on the bank, I found out a friend, and the guy subsequently committed suicide on a Saturday morning. I had one branch manager go crazy on me in the elevator, one mediator, get 11 stab wounds in two business meetings. It was crazy; it was unbelievable that... there was so much going on."

Red McQueen consolidates his reputation as this country's best business magazine writer with *Money Masters* (Macmillan of Canada), a historical study of Canada's \$50-billion insurance industry. Although he did mountains of research on the people involved, McQueen's most fascinating profile is that of a man he never met, Tim Galt, the elusive and authoritarian chairman of the Life who "waken Howard Hughes look like a nobody." Galt, it turns out, is virtually running Canada's largest insurance company into the ground—yet no one dares oppose or succeed him.

Although his stylistic strategy occasionally enrages his subject, McQueen's readability of the rise of Canada's Castany and of the shambolic techniques of Robert Burdon at Crown Life are last-

ing contributions to the literature. He argues that insurance men have no sense of humor when he quotes an associate told by Andrew McCaughey, the head of North American Life: "It concerns a man searching the world for a seafood delicacy known as 'acrod.' After countless attempts, he ends up in a New York taxi and asks the driver: 'Where can I get acrod?' 'Buddy,' is the reply, 'I've been asked that question a thousand times, but I've never been asked if it is the past perfect subjunctive.'"

In *Market Secrets* (Key Porter) a no-



Philip examining a business suit

new investment analyst named Harry Z. Klinger shows his way through various portfolio options to conclude: "The prudent investor will see retreat to the bottom line of selfishness." The only interesting revelation in this hysterical and affirmatively silly tome is the author's claim that "Belgian businessmen have always kept three sets of books: an income set for the purifiers, a second for the taxation authorities and a third to

hand over to the commander of the next invading army." It may even be true.

Much more optimistic and inspiring is *The Money Makers* (McClelland and Stewart) by Kenneth Barnes and Everett Manning. The lives and anecdotal times of 41 entrepreneurs are explored in world detail, right down to hints about how to get second mortgages the huckster.

This is a pivotal book at the particular moment in our economic history. Not only does it foster hope that the private sector retains its inventive spirit and that if an idea is good enough, venture capital can be found to make it fly, but it also proves that such efforts do create new jobs. The best advice in *The Money Makers* is a quote from John Masters, cofounder of fabulously successful Canadian Hunter Exploration Ltd. and one of the most illustrious of the new breed: "Every outlandish measure you make is going to be costly. But if you feel securely comfortable, then you're not far enough ahead to do any good. That warm sense of everything going well is usually the body temperature at the centre of the herd."

Smaller in intent but much inferior in execution is *The Money Masters* by Paul Gresson and David Cruise. Best portraits of 16 millionaires west of the Rockies who have "made it," this book offers front-overhead examinations. Two of the men profiled qualify as "Tomorrow Traders" (whatever that is), while four others are isolated as "Money Mangers" and so on. The writing style manages to be both flat and overindulgent at the same time. Like the instructions on early Japanese wind-up toys. Except for one well-crafted chapter on Nick Taylor, Alberta's perpetual Liberal leader, these profiles have all the depth and insight of *People Magazine* on an off week.

At other times, altogether the logic of a book by David Phillips, who spent 32 years as a Canadian real estate executive. *Dangerous Waters* (McClelland and Stewart) is a sentimental log of how he abruptly quit Bay Street to sell a 30-foot catboat around the world. The voyage ended in near-disaster in the middle of the Atlantic, but his inner journey of self-discovery—Phillips' quest to achieve "something beautifully paradoxical"—is a success. So is this slim volume—so thoughtful and moving an examination of a best man's soul as I have ever read.

Peter C. Newman's book, *Company of Adventurers*, is published this month by Viking.



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## Anger over a fiery summer

It began as a single lightning strike on July 16 near the tiny British Columbia village of Westridge, about 800 km east of Vancouver. By the end of the month the West fire, as it was called, had consumed 4,000 acres of forest. It was only one of the more than 2,000 fires that burned throughout British Columbia this summer—one of the worst fire seasons in the province's history. By mid-July the government had already spent its \$10-million firefighting budget, by October the bill stood at more than \$125 million, and reforestation may add another \$100 million. Now, many critics say that much of the destruction could have been avoided. One reason: the Social Credit government's cuts in the forest ministry's budget has eroded the province's firefighting efficiency. Said former vice-minister minister Robert Williams: "There is no doubt that resources failed the forests."



Fighting a B.C. forest fire. Inefficiency

a-year industry, the fires have led to a fierce debate. Critics say that one major problem was the government's decision to not let the forest ministry's budget to \$311 million last year from \$300 million in 1982-83. And although this year the budget was increased to \$368 million, the damage may already have been done. 35 per cent of forest ministry personnel lost their jobs—cutting the department to 8,600 this year from 13,000 in 1982. Critics also claim that the government's reorganization of its firefighting program, begun in the late 1970s, has further weakened firefighting abilities. For one thing, of the province's 59 ranger stations, 35 were closed, and operations were centralized in the remaining 40. Said Williams: "It was the equivalent of closing half of the firehalls in Vancouver and then wondering why more houses were burning down."

Meanwhile, the forest ministry also reduced the number of people trained as firefighters. In 1984, 5,300 people received certification; this year that number was 2,606. As well, the industry de-emphasized its practice of training and maintaining small, local firefighting crews. And, faced with fires this year that consumed roughly half a million acres of forest, the government hired more than 6,000 firefighters to cope with the emergency—many of them inexperienced, unemployed youths. Thus in-



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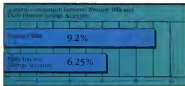
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Match Strength of North Vancouver, a veteran firefighter. "They were hiring crews straight off the manpower data. You wouldn't find a doctor that way."

For his part, British Columbia's Forestry Minister Thomas Watson says that this year's fires were largely a result of an unusually hot and dry summer. The minister told Maclean's, "You can't blame the weather on the Social Credit government." In fact, Watson said that the province's firefighting operations are more efficient now than they have ever been. One reason technology has given the province new tools in the fight against forest fires. Weather satellites provide advance warning of dangerous conditions, and 15 weatherized lightning strikes detectors throughout the province, connected to a centralized command centre in Victoria, can pinpoint possible sources. Indeed, Watson adds that such technology, as well as the increasing use of bombers to drop fire-retardant chemicals on fires, have rendered many major fires and local firefighting crews redundant. Declared Watson: "This season proved to us that we're going in the right direction."

Still, Maclean's has learned that preliminary results from an unpublished study by B.C. resource management consultant Evelyn Prokopenko may provide findings that are substantially different from Watson's. A comparison of two climatically similar areas — Washington state's fire-ravaged northwest corner and British Columbia's adjoining Nelson region — indicates that B.C. losses per fire were far greater. The Nelson area lost an average of 375 acres per fire; northwestern Washington's federally owned forests suffered an average loss of 50 acres per fire, and state-owned forests — located in a drier part of the region — lost 90 acres per fire. One possible reason: Washington's decentralized firefighting program relies heavily on well-trained local firefighting units and places less emphasis on high technology. Indeed, according to one Washington state official, the backbone of the system is "a guy with a shovel who knows how to use it."

Many experienced B.C. firefighters say that they agree with the assessment. Declared Brownish: "The new technical developments are great, but only in conjunction with the man on the ground who has got a hose or shovel and knows how to use it. When they centralized everything they lost contact with the local people who had experience and knew the terrain." Added one forest service officer in the Nelson district: "If the 1985 fires had happened before reorganization, we would not have had a big problem in this area. We had 58 fires break out at one time. Before, we could

have identified the worst areas, gotten to about 30 right away and then gone on to the rest. This summer we could only handle about five of them at once. As a result, a lot of them got out of control."

For his part, Watson said that he doesn't think the public generally thinks we did a good job. "But, in the province's flame-scorching Interior some residents say they have lost faith. Declared saying

fire warden Grant Copeland in New Denver, in the province's hard-hit West Kootenay region: "Before the outbreaks, there was three ranger stations, a 30-man crew and tools for 600. Now we've got one station, a six-man crew and tools for 25. You have got to catch a fire when it's small, and we just didn't have the people, the tools, the training or the organization to do it." Now, he and many others want the government to change its policy — before the 1986 forest fire season next April.

—BOB ROBERTS in Vancouver



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# News as theatre in the tuna affair

By George Boia

On July 30, when the people at the CBC's *5 p.m. news* were interviewed in Toronto by a reporter from the *Ottawa Herald* and the *Newsworld* network aired a short item which included "A department of national defence spokesman confirmed they rejected the Ocean Maid bread story because it was unfounded." *Newsworld* has several news anchors working separately covered the fact-based. It was later signed by an independent reporter.

Do Robert Hurst of CBC news, it came as a relief. He had been working on a tuna story since late May of which the *Ottawa Herald* and the *Newsworld* network covered. On June 28 he had interviewed—on camera—Fisheries Minister John Fraser. Hurst had gone prepared to pound the table and demand to know why a lot of tuna had been approved for sale after fisheries inspectors had rejected it as rancid and decomposed. But the minister readily went over the process by which he had asked for outside opinions and decided to give the cancer the benefit of the doubt.

On July 18 it seemed that *Newsworld*'s story would raise the peak while Hurst's own broader story still avoided evidence of a serious health hazard to satisfy the *Newsworld* network officials. Nothing happened. The Star-Kist story (*Ocean Maid* is a Star-Kist brand name) broke on Sept. 17. The *Ottawa Herald* and *Global* network had a bit of it on its 8 p.m. news but it was the story later that night on the *5 p.m. news* that led within days to the resignation of the minister and the resulting opposition attack.

Why did CBC had back? In retrospect, it erred, but in retrospect, as expressed by Donaki Cameron, vice-president of news, is understandable. It had what it looked on as a health story. The story said a decision of fisheries inspectors that a large quantity of tuna was unfit had been overturned by the minister to the benefit of the consumer. But hospitals were not reporting Canadian being admitted after eating canned tuna. Said Cameron in an interview: "I had to weigh perhaps going up against the *Herald* company [the U.S. parent of *Star-Kist*] with an unadmitted story."

CBC had a costly experience. In October, 1984, judgment was given against the network for a 1980 *N5* story on waste disposal—a story it thought it had thoroughly fact-checked. But one witness testified differently in court,

and another, from the United States, became unreliable. Damages, plus interest at 10 per cent from Jan. 1, 1983, rose to \$1,270,000. CBC decided to use the *Access to Information Act* to get the fisheries inspection reports. The minister agreed, but when Star-Kist filed notice of motion in federal court on Aug. 13 for an order to stay the minister's ban, CBC was stopped.

The *5 p.m. news* got its tip, according to senior producer Bob Haggart, two to three weeks before the program aired on Sept. 17. He says the last research was still being carried out on the 16th. Haggart's responsibility to the question of how long the *5 p.m. news* knew there was a lot of rancid tuna on the market may be judged from the opening words of our phone interview:

"Q: I'm trying to do a *Meekins's Media* Watch piece on the tuna affair. I wonder if I could get a few answers from you:

*Hurst had gone prepared to pound the table and demand to know why it had been approved for sale*

about, first, how long you were working on the story?"

A: "Let me say, George, that as an issue is a number 1, 100-per-cent complete phony."

Q: "What is it?"

A: "And if you want to take a few days, I will send you the letters I have sent to three people. I think, who raised the issue."

Q: "What issue?"

A: "Well, I assume this arises from the story in *The Globe* that we weren't worried about the health of the people of Canada."

Later, to the comment that his strong reaction to *The Globe* and *Mail* story was surprising, Haggart said: "No, I am saying it is accurate. It is completely, 100-per-cent, totally accurate. I'm not reacting to that story at all. I said it's accurate so long as you understand what the words mean." What he was angry about were the comments of some media people, including *Freelance* columnist Charles King, Peter Trueman of *Global*, Jim Fleming of *The Toronto Star* and "an asshole in Winnipeg" (otherwise unidentified) who "all said that we apologized the health of the people

of Canada, which is utter bullshit."

Haggart is also vehement in saying—as he was also quoted in the *Globe*—that the story was not on public health but the political process. The *5 p.m. news* explicitly said that the tuna inspectors called rancid and decomposed had been rendered acceptable by high heat. He prefers—over the idea that the story was a health story, which is the way certainly the parliamentary opposition treated it—the explanation that it was a case of exposing something bad, the better to protect the reputation of Canadian fish's health. He introduces an insight he gained some years ago in Kinshasa, Zaire, where he found a large display of Canadian salmon alongside other fish. He said: "The Canadian was at a two-cent premium."

The day after we spoke, Haggart wrote to four editors at *Meekins's* expressing a personal reservation "about allowing a writer to prepare a *Media Watch* feature about an important media event [i.e. his own program] that he has not watched." That was information I had volunteered. I saw, and see, no reason to hide it. It is preposterous to suggest, even with the self-importance of a consumer problem, that "an important media event" that is in the possession of a cabinet minister, and the office of the Prime Minister to resign if shown not to have spoken the truth, should be out of bounds to anyone writing on any aspect of public affairs. The *5 p.m. news* got into play information, which is further bolstered by arranging screenings and distributing transcripts to print journalists on the afternoon of the day the item was broadcast. That information had certain effects. Information in the public domain and the effects of it obviously are open to anyone's comments. The editors of *Meekins's* were content to leave Haggart's personal reservations as his personal reservations.

At the same time, he passed on certain information he assumed I had been seeking indirectly but was not prepared to ask for directly—goodness knows why, a wrong assumption. He was sending this to the editors because "I do not know how to reach Mr. Rait and I would appreciate it if you would draw this information to his attention." *Global* that the *5 p.m. news* pulled itself on what and whom it can find and that any one of several publications, including this one, could provide him with my address, phone number or both, it seems only charitable to disabuse him.

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## SCIENCE

### Seeking a deadly gene

**D**uring the past three years as many as 10 teams of geneticists in Canada, the United States and Europe have raced to find the location of the defective gene that causes cystic fibrosis (CF). That discovery will help scientists develop effective treatments—and perhaps even a cure—for the fatal respiratory disease that afflicts at least 3,200 Canadian and 33,000 American young people. Then, last week two researchers at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children announced that they had made a breakthrough, narrowing their search for the elusive gene to only one per cent of the three billion pairs of chromosomes that form human genetic material, or DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid).

That makes up thousands of genes strung along 23 pairs of chromosomes. But researchers do not know which chromosome contains the CF gene. Still,

*'Looking for the gene is like looking for a house in the city without knowing the street address'*

geneticists Lap-Choo Tsai and Manfred Buchwald have located what they call "a neighborhood" where the CF gene is likely to be found. Said Buchwald, "Looking for the gene is like looking for a house in the city without knowing the street address. Now our research results can point us in the right direction."

The two scientists announced their discovery to 1,500 colleagues at the annual meeting of the American Society of Human Genetics in Salt Lake City, Utah. And they acknowledged the contribution made by 54 families across Canada, CF, which causes a chronic lung condition in the body, often suffers' lungs with thick, sticky mucus, produces obstructions in the intestines and often destroys the digestive functions of the pancreas. It occurs in children whose parents are carriers but do not suffer from the disease themselves. All members of the families—each one with at least two children affected with CF—donated blood samples for the project over the past 2½ years.

As a result, the seven-member Toronto research team had a large amount of

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scientific material to analyze—a factor that they say hastened their advance. Declared Catherine Morrison, executive director of the Canadian Cystic Fibrosis Foundation: "It is very gratifying to see the faith of these families—who got asked to participate in genetic after genetic—as well as our own financial investment pay off in such a dramatic way." Before last week's announcement the foundation had funneled close to \$500,000—raised almost entirely from personal donations—toward the research team's work.

Pursuing one specific gene—the DNA close to the gene carrying CF—on a painstaking process of elimination. First, Tsai and Bachwald isolated DNA from the donated blood cells. Then they exposed that DNA to samples of radioactive DNA known as gene probes. When the probe bonded with identical pieces of DNA in the genetic material being tested, it gives researchers a signpost, or this "marker." Tsai and Bachwald were looking for a marker that, like CF itself, is present in carriers and is inherited by affected children. To that end, Boston-based Collaborative Biomedical Products Inc., a biotechnology company, helped Tsai and Bachwald by sending 12 DNA probes to Toronto.

By using the gene probes the researchers wanted to detect a pattern of DNA in CF-affected families—one that might indicate a chromosome location for the faulty gene. And when one of the Boston probes linked up with the Toronto samples 85 per cent of the time, the Toronto geneticists concluded that the test marker was very close to the CF gene. Said Tsai: "We are probably only 16 million base pairs [100 DNA units] away from the gene. This search has a long distance—but there are about three billion base pairs in all."

While the Toronto researchers attempt to reduce the distance from the marker to the disease-carrying gene, the Boston firm is on the verge of finding the chromosome that contains the gene. That discovery could come within a few weeks, but Bachwald said that the next step—locating the CF gene itself—is a much more difficult task which could take years to accomplish. Still, the Canadian researchers' breakthrough has brought medical science one step closer to producing tests on unborn children to determine if they have the disease. At the same time, the Canadian discovery has intensified the international competition to be the first to find the CF gene—and Tsai and Bachwald have an excellent chance of duplicating the success they achieved last week. Said Tsai: "Of course, we are going to try very hard in Toronto to find the gene. Now we know where to look. The Dark Ages in this field are over."

—PAT OLENDORF in Toronto

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#### ELIGIBILITY:

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1. Submission must be at least 500 words and no more than 1800 words (4 to 5 pages), typewritten, double-spaced, on one side of the paper only, and stapled (one paper clip on the upper left-hand corner). Each page must be numbered. Handwritten entries and those displaying signs will be accepted unopened.
2. A covering sheet must be stapled to the front of each entry, listing the Student's Name, Address, Telephone Number, Age and Grade, School Name, Address, Telephone Number, and Teacher's Name, Category and Title of Essay, Total Number of Words in Submission.
3. Contestants may submit only one entry.
4. All entries must be the original unpublished writing of the student and may not be "reused" by student over and above anything the classroom teacher might normally do to help the student fix a point out error, but not correct them. Essays must be submitted exclusively to the Diane Thompson Student Writing Awards 1986. All essays become the property of Maclean's In-Class Program.
5. Mail address: Wendy Demers, Educational Division, Maclean Hunter Limited, Maclean Hunter Building, 777 Bay St., Box 91, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1A7.
6. Entries must be postmarked no later than February 23, 1986.
7. Only winners and runners-up will be notified by mail on May 1986.
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# The Jays of fall and the big blue wall

Visions of a World Series that would forestall advancing winter danced across the nation as the high-flying Toronto Blue Jays went about their high-paying business. In the first two games of the American League championship last week, they performed with a sure-handed confidence that hastened excited supporters' desire to meet them. Then, after the best-of-seven series shifted to soggy Kansas City, the spirited Jays of fall ran into a big blue wall of Royals, led by third baseman George Brett, who bent the visitors with his bat and his glove in game three. But in Saturday's fourth game they recovered, scoring three runs in the sixth inning to win 3-1 and take a commanding 3-1 lead in the pennant series. Clearly, the Blue Jays were determined not to stumble in their drive to win their first league championship and enter the World Series, scheduled to begin on Saturday, Oct. 19. Said one Toronto reliever Tom Henke: "We're hungry. We want it all."

And so did the Royals, who have lost four league championships and one World Series since 1976. Indeed, the Royals won Friday's third game by a come-from-behind 6-5 score—largely because Brett got four hits, including two home runs, and scored the game-winning run on a bloop single to right field. The revenge was sweet. In the spring game of the series in Toronto on a damp Tuesday night, the Blue Jays' victory was almost too easy—a 6-1 triumph in which the team performed flawlessly behind the overpowering pitching of right-hander Dave Stieb. During eight strong innings Stieb surrendered only three hits—two of them by the over-cautious Brett—while striking out eight Royals and walking only one.

The action before a happy crowd of 28,135 also featured executive benediction by Blue Jay left fielder George Bell, who, with shortstop Tony Fernandez, second baseman Damaso Garcia and utility infielder Manny Lee, rounds out the team's delegation of visiting Dominican players. Leaving left, Bell turned a shallow fly ball into a double in the first inning. And in the fourth he went from first base to third on a routine grounder by designated hitter Cliff Johnson, scoring when a surprised first baseman Steve Balboni threw the ball over Brett's head at third. Said Blue Jay coach Dave Williams: "Bell set the tone for the game."

Here Oliver: alcoholic cocktail parties



In the second game, before a disappearing Wednesday post-lunch crowd of 34,029, Bell and shortstop Fernandez got on a display of fearless base running. Both players ignored Williams' instructions to stop at third base and dashed home safely. Fernandez with the run that tied the score in the bottom of the 10th inning. But the dominant figure in the 6-5 victory was center fielder Lloyd Moseby, who drove in Fernandez and then scored the winner on Al Oliver's single.

In the top of the 10th, Moseby was the central figure in a controversial defensive play that allowed the Royals to take

had told their own television audience that Toronto fans were more polite and restrained than American baseball crowds.

Canadian reporters—consistently stressing the international aspect of the series—seemed almost in interest in what the American media were saying about Toronto and Canada as they were in the ballpark. Indeed, The Toronto Star, which assigned no fewer than 25 writers to report the series, even chronicled what Kubek and Costa had told the own audience. But none of the Kansas City players were assuaged by the flag-waving in the Toronto stands. Said

900 visitors was expected if the Blue Jays made it to the World Series. The Blue Jays spent \$200,000 to build a temporary press box in left field. And to entertain the press, the club provided a succession of elaborate meals and cocktail parties. Said veteran Toronto sportswriter Jim Hume: "These things are the biggest freebies of all."

Perhaps because of the exhaustive media coverage, Canadian politicians seemed nervous to back in the Blue Jays' glow. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, for one, attended the opening game with his wife, Mila. As the Mulroneys made their way toward the box they shared with baseball commissioner Peter Ueberroth, the first shouted "Tana! Tana! Tana!"—a reference to the political controversy last month over the sale of named firsts. Mulroney, who describes himself as "an old baseball fan," threw out the ceremonial first pitch. And he even joined Blue Jays broadcasters Tom Cheek and Jerry Howarth for an evening of color commentary. For his part, Ontario Premier David Peterson, who was unable to attend a pre-series pep rally which drew 25,000 fans to Toronto's Nathan Phillips Square decided, "For the first time we are going to have a true World Series—and Canada is going to win it." To support his contention, Peterson made a wager with Missouri Gov. John Ashcroft that the Blue Jays would defeat the Royals. Under the terms of the bet, if Toronto won Ashcroft would have to sign 0-Canada in public before serving Peterson dinner. If the Royals won, Peterson would serve Ashcroft dinner and play Eisenhower 10 to 20 in Kansas City on a pump.

While the Royals were battling the Blue Jays for the American League pennant, another Missouri team—the St. Louis Cardinals—was struggling against the Los Angeles Dodgers for the National League crown. Like the Royals, the Cardinals lost the first two games in their opponents' park by scores of 4-1 and 6-2. Then, on Saturday—like the Royals—they bounced back in a 4-3 victory in St. Louis. The Cardinals had long been the prospect that delighted Missourians—a so-called 1-76 Series, with games taking place 400 km apart on interstate highway 70.

Earlier, New Yorkers had hoped for a Subway Series between the Yankees and the Mets. Instead, the Yankees avoided a Freeway Series between the Dodgers and the Angels. But the possibilities died as the Mets and the Angels fell by the wayside. Now, in October, Canada's Blue Jays fans are hoping for an Airport Series—with one of the airports being Toronto's Lester B. Pearson International.

—ROBERT MELLER in Kansas City



While Lignier hoped out a second, Moseby and Bell to scramble in the drive to win it all

a brief 4-1 lead. With two men out and center fielder Willie Wilson on second, Moseby made what appeared to be an inning-ending catch. But the right-field umpire ruled that he had trapped the ball on Exhibition Stadium's Astroturf, and Wilson scored home. The ensuing argument provoked the Toronto fans into an angry chant of "Bullshit! Bullshit!" while half-nuts beat dogs, napalm packages and loose change rained down on the field. The wildest controversy with a dramatic chant of "Bullshit! Bullshit!" and provided more refutation of earlier statements by U.S. broadcasters Bob Costas and Tony Kubek, who

Brett: "Let's get back to the United States where we can wave Old Glory for a while. All these maple leaves waving back and forth every inning have—it's been like an international event, an Olympic game."

There was no doubt that, for the moment, the Blue Jays had become Canada's team. Said Paul Boettner, the team's executive vice-president for marketing: "This is probably the biggest single sporting event in Canada since the Canada-Russia hockey series in 1972. The whole country has pride in the Blue Jays." To accommodate the reporters assigned to the playoffs—as many as

100 in the playoffs—Toronto's press box was expanded to include the press box for the American League. The press box was moved to the press box for the American League. The press box was moved to the press box for the American League.

# A mutiny among military wives

In the Canadian Forces the 26,390 military wives living on 650 military bases and stations in Canada are officially known as "family dependents." Many of them say that the description is accurate—although they are widows, their lives are ruled by army regulations. Indeed, 250 military wives at CFB Petawick, 13 km south of Red Deer, Alta., discovered that last year when five of them established the Organizational Society of Spouses of Military

Jon Morrison banned the organization, a decision that Nelson upheld last March on the basis of Article 19 of Canadian Forces regulations, which prohibits political activity on military bases. But after court case filed its lawsuit in the Calgary Court of Queen's Bench on Sept. 26 this year, Liberal defence critic Len Hopkins pointed out that a Progressive Conservative dinner-dance took place at CFB Gagetown, N.B., on May 4. And the Federation of Military and United Ser-

vice affect their husbands' careers." Still, some women say that the military has acknowledged spouses' problems. Karen MacInnes of CFB Petawick cites the base's resource centre, established last January to provide spouses with a structured support system. MacInnes, whose husband is a lieutenant colonel, says that commanding officers usually grant requests for change—although she indicated that wives must be cautious. Said MacInnes of the resource centre: "They put us on a six-month trial basis to make sure we did things we shouldn't, but we managed to keep our noses clean."

For their part, military spokesmen maintain that OSGMME exaggerates. Said CFB Calgary information officer Capt. Lindsay Brown: "Certainly in Calgary we don't believe we have a problem." But several women at the base told MacInnes that they are often not allowed to handle financial affairs without their husbands' written authorization. And Leslie Taylor said that she was not even permitted to join the base's video club without her husband's signature, although she finally received permission. Rod Taylor: "The idea of those regulations is that our husbands can be held responsible."

Meanwhile, military wives at CFB Halifax last week publicly criticized the army's regulations after candidates in the Oct. 15 municipal election were not allowed to have property. And others now have the support of federal Liberal politicians and such women's groups as the Alberta Status of Women Council and the Toronto-based Women's Legal Education and Action Fund, which sponsors women's legal cases. Said Toronto lawyer Mary Shwartz, chairman of the fund's legal committee: "The military wants to affirm its authoritarian and patriarchal structure. Any attempt to change this is foreign to them."

Still, change may be faring in many military wives as well. Said Charlotte Higgins of CFB Calgary: "You know what you're getting into when you get married. I had incidents where I felt I wasn't treated correctly. But one learns what your rights are—and then you learn how to handle it."

—PAUL BERTON in Toronto with NANCY JACKSON and RUTH in Calgary



Unofficial civilian spouses, regulations and a selective definition of what is political

Members, a self-help group in November, 1984, the base commander banned the 60-member organization, saying that its activities were political—and contrary to regulations intended to preserve the force's neutrality. Now, OSGMME members have launched a lawsuit against Defence Minister Erik Nielsen and Justice Minister John Crosbie, saying that the regulations violate Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Said Mary Anne Johnston, OSGMME vice-president: "Everything is fine until you try to exercise your rights. Then they jump on you."

Last September CFB administrators warned OSGMME members not to proceed with a plan to lobby for extending the army's dental coverage to spouses and children. After the campaign began in late October, camp commander Lt-Col.

nice Institutes of Canada, an officers' organization, operates openly on bases and has publicly supported such issues as women's morale testing. Indeed, Len Copes, Liberal MP for Hamilton East, "It is clear that the idea of a political organization is quite selective."

Others members say that the organization's sole purpose is to help military wives deal with such everyday problems as loneliness when husbands are away on maneuvers and often inadequate living quarters. Incoming president Laurie Richardson adds that more serious issues such as alcoholism and wife beating also have to be addressed. But Joanne Vitaras of CFB Petawick, Ont., 160 km west of Ottawa, says too many wives fear that activism may reflect badly on their husbands. Said Vitaras: "Women are afraid that anything they say



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Sutherland and Richards: making a valiant effort to bring a musical curiosity to life for modern audiences

## MUSIC

# A low note in musical history

When the Canadian Opera Company announced that the celebrated Jean Sutherland would star in its production of *Hamlet*, there was understandable excitement. As Ophelia, the Australian soprano would take part in the first Canadian staging of the 1666 opera. *Hamlet*, which opened in Toronto two weeks ago, features the same "successful" artists: two that brought Toronto its first *Anna Bolina* in 1964. Sutherland, her conductor husband, Richard Bonynge and Lotfi Mansouri, general director of the COC. But the spine-tingling splendor of Sutherland's voice and admirable performance from other cast members could not entirely compensate for the flaws of *Hamlet* itself. Based on William Shakespeare's tragedy, Ambrose Thomas's opera lacks the play's spiritual depth. Ultimately, the production emerged as a marginal modern piece with only a handful of musical high points to entice its almost 3½-hour duration.

Sitting through *Hamlet*, it is easy to understand why the French composer has largely been forgotten. *Hamlet* often sounds derivative and superficial, despite its inventive orchestration—including the first use of a saxophone in an opera setting. Still, it is an ideal vehicle for the soaring voice of Sutherland, 38,

who says that the role of Ophelia will be her last new undertaking. Thomas and his librettists, Michel Carre and Julien Barbier, distorted Shakespeare's play to give Ophelia a more prominent role. And Sutherland took full advantage of the moving scenes of madness. The opposing audience appeared to use all her strength for the spectacular moment near the opera's end, when Ophelia, rejected by the Danish prince, throws the ground with flowers and wades distractedly to her death.

Apart from the sublime purity of her voice, Sutherland was impressive in her portrayal of an infatuated teenager. Other cast members also struggled against the insipid libretto to breathe life into their characters. As Hamlet, Dutch baritone John Brechler sang with passionate intensity. American mezzo-soprano Lenie Richards gave full-blinded life to Hamlet's adulterous mother, Gertrude. Sadly, her Australian Claudio, Donald Shooka, rarely rose above his routine performance. But a number of minor characters were more successful: as a gravedigger, Canadian tenor Peter Bracher gave his voice the right ironic tinge.

The singing would have been even more effective had the orchestra provided more movement. Bonynge's in-

genuous and understated conducting suited Thomas's atmospheric effects but drained passion from the opera's dramatic peaks. Meanwhile, Mansouri's stage direction sometimes resulted in awkward or confusing moments. The chorus was unconvincingly staged as a group of dancing courtiers. And when Lenie's sword pierces Hamlet during their duet, it was not clear that the prince had been dealt a mortal wound. The sets by designer Wilfrid Skelton heightened the occasional confusion of the action, blending elements of baroque and medieval architecture for an odd historical mix. During most of the opera the stage was framed by looming arched walls which made it look claustrophobic. But Skelton's design for Ophelia's farewell set was staged and magical, giving the act the unique beauty of a Chinese watercolor.

It would have been commercially reckless for the company to stage *Hamlet* without Sutherland at the driving core. But even the great soprano was unable to transform the melodramatic opera into a work of substance. The COC has made a valiant effort to bring *Hamlet* to its few modern audiences, but in the end it remains a historical curiosity.

—MICHAEL CHASE

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# Eloquent images of art

THE EBONY TOWER  
(Fremantle, Oct. 23)

Ever since abstract painting made its bewildering debut early in the 20th century, critics have argued whether art should represent reality or be allowed to create its own visual universe. In *The Ebony Tower*, a television movie adapted from a 1954 novella by British author John Fowles, such a debate becomes the focus for a lyrical drama this enthralling with an unusual combination of intelligence, sexuality and wit. Produced by Britain's Granada Television and starring Sir Laurence Olivier, the 90-minute film should delight readers of Fowles's best-selling story about an art critic who scambles into the private domain of an old master. The television rendering is impressively faithful to the author's original literary canvas. And by transposing a story about painting to the visual realm, the program fulfils the vision of Fowles's narrative in a particularly fitting way.

Gleeful portrayer Henry Breasley, an eminent British painter who has retired



Wolcott, Olivier, Scorschi: Ash makes

to a ivy-covered chateau in the French countryside, where he lives with two female art students. Their names are Anne and Diana, but Breasley prefers to call them the Freak and the Mouse. The Mouse (Greta Scorschi) is an elegant blonde and serious artist who serves as the painter's devoted muse, and the Freak (Tanya Wilkoc) is a flirtatious punk with flame-red hair who pumps up his aging libido. The story centres on a young art critic and painter, David Williams (Roger Bosc), who comes to the chateau to spend a few days interviewing Breasley. From the moment he arrives, encountering Anne and Diana sunbathing naked in the garden, Williams's well-ordered universe is upset. Slowly and reluctantly, he becomes attracted to Anne while trying to unravel the bonds of loyalty that tie her to Breasley.

A medieval knight lost in the castle of an old master, Williams bravely men disarming art with the wood-headed Breasley, who asks him if he is a painter or "just a glib word-twister." In fact, Williams is a successful avant-garde artist—the movie's opening sequence shows him standing at an easel beside a lake, parsimoniously dabbling just one cautious with a ruler to create an abstract horizon. But Breasley, whose sweeping landscapes are lush with forests and meads, detests art that follows in "the footsteps of Pythagoras"—he calls it "abstract" art. And Williams's polite, liberal remarks about making room for a changing world only provide him "T'm," says Breasley, "a girl's legs look much the same today as when Rembrandt painted them."

Olivier excels in his role as the masculine painter, whose classic manner masks the soul of a frightened child. The actor swings back and forth between the character's emotional extremes with acrobatic ease. His voice—spitting out epithets, creaking under the influence of wine, teetering off into reverie—performs extraordinary feats without ever straining credibility. Opposite him in welcoming grace, Williams seems shallow and contemptible, a much less sympathetic character than in the original Fowles story. The once-dated Bosc portrays him as a reluctant diplomat who lacks the inner fortitude that allowed the reader to identify with him in the book.

But generally the film follows the texture of the narrative brushstrokes for brushstroke. Entire sections of Fowles's text dialogue are reproduced intact, and the camera gracefully captures the language of the book's laconic setting. Instead, the television art of *The Ebony Tower* not only moves its literary source but reveals the hidden colors of an imaginary landscape.

—BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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## The torment of tyranny

THEATRE IN THE TIME  
OF NERO AND SENeca

By Edward Radzinsky  
Directed by Robert Rossen

**T**heatre in the Time of Nero and Seneca is a monumental work, an epic cry of damaged passion and intellectual torment. Written by Edward Radzinsky, a successful pioneer of contemporary Soviet drama, the play depicts the relationship between the totalitarian state and those intellectuals who, remaining in its thrall against their convictions, must justify that decision to themselves. Despite the play's provocative subject matter, the authorities have allowed it to be staged in the Soviet Union as well as in the West. In virtually every respect, the supercharged production currently playing at Toronto Workshop Productions captures the starting force of Radzinsky's squalidly dramatic.

Many observers in the West feel that any work of art that is even partly acceptable to a totalitarian state must be deluded and self-serving. Radzinsky's

achievement lies apart that reverses this view. Without compromise, he demonstrates that in a tyrannical regime corruption sets away at both the oppressor and the oppressed. At the same time, he rarely loses sight of the infinite capacity of people to act out new roles in response to unusual circumstances.

In Radzinsky's play that compulsion to create theatre has allowed the bloodthirsty Emperor Nero (Ted Dikstra) to the point where he no longer distinguishes between life and death. Having uncovered a murder plot led by his former tutor, the philosopher Seneca (Jeremy Wilton), Nero forces his would-be assassin to re-enact scenes from their relationship. As their history unfolds, Radzinsky reveals the extremes of passion and violence that result when

a more mortal like Nero becomes omnipotent. At the same time, Seneca's moral superiority crumbles as he realises that his aloofness and self-interest have made him partly responsible for spawning the monster about to murder him.

Radzinsky's astonishing insights easily transcend his immediate society to illuminate the reality of the universal. That feeling is reinforced by Barbara

Fisher-Saunders's, Bob Green's and Larry Oak's superbly stylized set—a multifaceted stadium surrounding an ancient philosopher who crouches in a barrel throughout the 90-hour play. Among the excellent performances, Dikstra's stands out with raw power and endurance. And Robert Rossen's intensely physical direction never obscures Radzinsky's nuances. Occasionally he fails to convey the playwright's savage humor, but that is a minor flaw.

Nero and Seneca is a Roman epic for the mind, body and soul, an experience not to be missed.

—MARK CARMICHAEL



Dikstra, bloodthirsty

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## Continents on the move

The distance between India and Papua is 3,667 miles—and growing. That, at least, is one conclusion to be reached from a theory known as plate tectonics, which holds that the Earth's crust is divided into vast, rigid plates which float independently on a semimolten interior. Europe and North America, the experts say, shared a single continent which split apart 160 million years ago, and they are still spreading at a rate of almost an inch a year. Few scientists dispute the theory, although it has never been proven by direct observation. But now scientists are confident that whatever uncertainty still exists will soon be banished by the publication of extremely precise measurements indicating that the two continents are, indeed, drifting apart at the rate predicted by the theory. And in addition to confirming the theory, the measurements could also yield new insights in the uncertain science of forecasting earthquakes.

The key to the new measurements is a technique called Very Long Baseline Interferometry (VLBI), which uses radio an-



California quake damage unpredictable

terwaves to monitor quakers—extremely distant starlike objects that emit radio signals. Scientists 3,472 miles apart, in Westford, Mass., and in Örnäs, Sweden, principally funded by NASA, have timed the arrival of the same quasar signals with atomic clocks. The difference—typically a millisecond—is the arrival time. This allows the scientists to calculate the precise distance between the two receivers, and over the past 4½ years that distance has grown by almost two-thirds of an inch a year. The system is not yet perfect, but according to Thomas Harter of the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics in Cambridge, Mass., the scientists are now "almost certain" that the Atlantic Ocean is gradually getting wider.

This knowledge is itself not help to predict earthquakes, but similar long-distance measurements throughout the world will increase scientific understanding of how and why tectonic plates move. And because most major earthquakes—including the tremors that devastated Mexico City late last month—occur in regions where plates meet, this knowledge should help to improve quake forecasting. Stud Thomas Jordan, USGS researcher and geophysicist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge. "We do not really understand what strategies are going to be the best for earthquake prediction but we suspect that this kind of data will be very important."

Still, Jordan's muted optimism reflects widespread disenchantment in the scientific community with forecasting theories that prevailed a decade ago. At the time, scientists were particularly encouraged by Soviet research indicating that shock waves in the earth, triggered intentionally by small explosions, changed velocity immediately prior to a major earthquake. Other research pointed to unusual gas emissions as likely precursors. And at the same time, Chinese scientists experienced limited success by observing such signs as strange animal behavior and fluctuating well levels. But none of those theories has proven reliable over the long term.

Indeed, scientists received no advance warning of the earthquakes that killed an estimated 5,000 in Mexico last month. They only knew that one was inevitable, eventually, because the region sits above the junction of two molten plates and pressures has been building up since the ground last moved there in 1997. The occurrence of similar quakes in other boundary areas is equally inevitable. But until science gains a better grasp of the intricacies of plate tectonics, the vital question of when they will occur must remain unanswered.

—JOHN BARBER in Toronto

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### TECHNOLOGY

## The Pentagon's toys

The words reflected the new U.S. administration's declared intention to cut government costs. In 1981, a year after President Ronald Reagan entered the White House, then-budget director David Stockman declared: "I'm really going to go after the Pentagon. I think there's a kind of swamp of \$18 billion to \$20 billion worth of waste that can be ferreted out." But even then the Reagan administration's staggered defense buildup—costing a total of \$1.1 trillion (U.S.) between 1981 and 1985—has provided critics of Pentagon spending with a dazzling array of targets. And the reason for criticism goes when Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger cancelled production of the army's new—but unproven—Evolutionary Air Defense gun (EVAD) in August after an investment of \$1.8 billion. Declared Republican Senator and Pentagon critic Charles Stenholm of Iowa earlier this year: "We are squandering waste. I think you could cut defense procurement by one-third—and still get what you want."

In fact, many of the Pentagon's critics now say that spending cutbacks are merely symptoms of more serious problems. Among them: an inefficient decision-making apparatus and an excessively large officer corps that is outpacing the forces for sophisticated forms of warfare. And the result, they say, would be disastrous: a Pentagon hierarchy allowed to continue to embellish new weapons with costly high technology may be responsible for producing unreliable equipment.

Concern over the defense department's policies flared last year when such critics as the Washington-based Project on Military Procurement (PMP), an independent lobby group dedicated to exposing defense department excesses, revealed that the Pentagon had paid huge amounts for specially designed accessories for its aircraft and ships. Among them: a \$640 toilet seat built by Lockheed Corp. for the navy's F-3 submarine detection plane, a \$699 ashtray made by German Aerospace Corp. for its E-2C radar plane, and a \$7,622 coffee maker, designed by West Aircraft for the air force's C-141 transport plane. Now the PMP's conclusions have provided a clear focus for the varied worries.

Nicknamed the Sergeant York—after a U.S. First World War hero—the tank-like D9AD was developed by Detroit, Mich.-based Ford Aerospace & Communications Corp. It was designed to provide U.S. troops with mobile anti-aircraft protection in frontline combat. It featured two 40-mm guns controlled by a computerized radar tracking system. A ground-based army videotape made during tests in early August showed the unit in action, shooting down some out of sight (missing unmanned aircraft). But the tape may have been nothing more than the army's attempt to delay embarrassment over a project that turned into a Pentagon nightmare soon after development began in 1974. Indeed, Oregon Republican Congressman Dan Rostenbom revealed after an investigation that the planes were destroyed by explosives subord-

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which was defeated by remote control from the ground.

In the end, defense officials concluded that the Sergeant York could not do the job it was designed for: tracking and destroying incoming aircraft. In fact, during tests last year its computerized radar system proved incapable of tracking fighter planes. The system even

quietly stayed in the rifle—jamming it. Other questionable projects are still moving forward from the defense department, whose authorized 1985 budget was \$282 billion. For one, during the next decade \$11.8 billion is earmarked for the purchase of 6,682 Bradley M-2 infantry fighting vehicles, developed and manufactured by Ford Corp. in San

Diego by Ingalls Shipbuilding, a division of Boeing. MEI, Calif.-based Litton Industries, is to protect aircraft carriers from missiles, the answer is equipped with an Aggie computer-controlled radar system that co-ordinates 16,000 interconnected radar units and fires surface-to-air missiles to destroy incoming missiles. Early tests in 1983 on the U.S.S. *Tracorug*—the first cruise built—were disappointing: four hits on 14 incoming missiles in one test run, two out of six in another. Tests last year were more successful: three out of four incoming missiles were destroyed. Since then two more engines have been completed. But the ship's reliability under strenuous combat conditions remains in doubt, and early tests have shown that the Aggie system has difficulty detecting sea-skimming missiles. As well, the cruiser's high-cost hardware could easily be immobilized by a single enemy hit, making it an ideal target for large numbers of relatively cheap Soviet missiles. While U.S. defense expert Thomas Garver in his 1984 book *Arms of Democracy*, a critical study of the defense buildup. "Three out of four would not be good enough, then."

There are other problems as well.

• In 1984, after Congress authorized the purchase of 1,372 F/A-18 Hornet fighter planes from St. Louis, Mo.-based McDonnell Douglas Corp., flaws in the aircraft's tail fin forced the Pentagon to stop a mass (over 300 planes for repair and delayed production of the remainder. And from an original estimate of \$9.9 million each in 1979, the Hornet's price tag has soared to well over \$20 million.

• The F-16 fighter, developed in the mid-1970s, suffers system failures roughly every 30 minutes that it is aloft. As a result, it requires 27 man-hours of maintenance work for each hour in flight. Defense says that although the plane is a high-performance aircraft with superior maneuverability, it would be limited use during combat.

• The Washington Post reported last month that the \$480-million B-1B bomber—so far one has been built and 160 more are on order—will prove to be a logistical failure in war-time because B-1B tankers are needed for each squadron. Still, pinpointing the cause of defense



The Sergeant York anti-aircraft gun outfitting weapons with unreliable high technology

failed to operate effectively against slow-moving helicopters and at one point locked on an air force jet of a nearby building at the Fort Hove, Tex. test site. Meanwhile, other tests showed that, because the front-line anti-radar system would make it a target for Soviet missiles designed to seek out and destroy radar equipment, its presence would be dangerous to combat troops. Said one congressional aide: "I would not want to be anywhere near the DDM if I were fighting a war."

Still, many critics of the Pentagon say that the Sergeant York project was only the latest of many defense planning mistakes. For researcher Joseph Burawski, for one, said that the M-16 rifle was also plagued with problems. U.S. soldiers found that the rifle, developed in the late 1960s and adopted by U.S. forces as a standard weapon in 1965, malfunctioned frequently during use in the Vietnam War. One reason in order to make the M-16 conform to its own standards, the Pentagon decided to use light rail in the rifle—contrary to design specifications. But because the rail tended to snap into the gun's 22-caliber shaft, it hindered fire. As a result, the spent shell, which under full power would have been ejected, fre-

quently stayed in the rifle—jamming it. Other questionable projects are still moving forward from the defense department, whose authorized 1985 budget was \$282 billion. For one, during the next decade \$11.8 billion is earmarked for the purchase of 6,682 Bradley M-2 infantry fighting vehicles, developed and manufactured by Ford Corp. in San

Diego, Calif. Intended to replace the army's M-41B troop carrier, the Bradley is larger and more heavily armed, with a 25-mm cannon instead of the M-41's 30-caliber machine-gun.

But army tests have shown that the Bradley's mainly aluminum armor offers little protection to occupants and that enemy rockets could easily penetrate its shell, setting off explosives carried in the vehicle and turning the Bradley into a fireball. Besides, the Bradley only has room for seven passengers as well as its three-man crew—compared to the M-41's load of one driver and as many as 12 passengers—and it has to be partially dismantled before it can fit into standard air force C-141 transport planes. Still, the latest estimates put the Bradley's price tag at roughly \$1.6 million each—compared to the M-41's 1984 cost of \$183,000.

Another controversial project now under way is the \$1-billion *Tracorug* cruiser, of which 15 are to be built.

Meibergner under fire



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department management is difficult. Most analysts say that the Pentagon's unwieldy bureaucracy is the real source of the problem. Thomas Jones, chief executive officer of Los Angeles-based Northrup Corp., builders of the air force's P-51, has described the defense hierarchy as "a log floating down a river with 30,000 ants aboard, each one thinking he's steering." In fact, the United States defense establishment—including soldiers, reserve personnel and civilian employees—numbers 4.5 million people.

The officer corps is particularly overmanned. During the Second World War, about one month before the Japanese surrender on Aug. 14, 1945, there were 12,606,884 men and women on active duty, 1,286,308 of those officers—or one officer for every nine enlisted personnel. But by May 11, 1981, when the peacetime army numbered only 324,441 men and women, there were fully 285,000 officers—one for every six soldiers.

As a result, the entire peacetime officer corps has become a self-perpetuating bureaucracy, which many analysts say is preoccupied with making work for itself. In his 1984 book, *The Pentagon and the Art of War*, Edward Luttwak, a senior fellow at Washington's Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, wrote: "What has happened is that an overload of greatly disproportionate size has forced employment for itself in the systematic development of every aspect of peacetime defense."

To many critics, one indication of overcomplication is the excessive development time which goes into individual projects. In 1949 Lockheed, Calif.-based Lockheed Corp. designed and built the first American jet plane in 143 days. By contrast, the F/A-18 Hornet was not officially operational until 1983—nine years after its development began in 1974. Indeed, when the air force requested Lockheed to design a new cargo plane in 1983, its specifications totaled eight pages. In 1980 a similar request to Lockheed for a new cargo plane was accompanied by 2,750 pages of specifications. Declared Luttwak: "It is overengineering. The Pentagon has to be doing things with all these extra officials, so they need them not to research and development or procurement and put them to work making weapons—usually dumb ones, because this isn't what they were trained to do."

The problem is exacerbated by the Pentagon's system of awarding contracts. Less than 10 per cent of its work is open to formal competitive bidding, and up to 40 per cent of major weapons funding is usually divided between eight large companies, including McDonnell Douglas and St. Louis, Mo.-based General Dynamics. As a result, these com-

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panies, knowing that they are assured of work, have few incentives to reduce costs and can safely raise them because few others produce such specialized equipment. Cited in a 1984 Project on Military Procurement report: "Defense has become not the art of managing men and materials in preparation for war, but of managing budgets and contracts and convincing Congress to increase the flow of money into Pentagon coffers and on to defense contractors."

Despite the growth of a military reform movement in Congress, led by such politicians as Stennis and Gonsky, even

the most engineering weapons quickly attract support from politicians if the projects reach its employment within their districts. Said Senator David Pryor, an Arkansas Democrat: "Once on the drawing board, the weapon develops a local chamber of commerce." Indeed, contracts for the B-1B bomber are awarded throughout 40 states and involve more than 80 of the United States' 538 congressional districts—ensuring broad support on Capitol Hill.

The close ties between the Pentagon and its contractors have at times resulted in outright fraud. Last March the

government charged the Philadelphia Division of General Electric Co. with defrauding the Pentagon of roughly \$600,000 while fulfilling a Maritime mobile contract in 1980, and the U.S. Attorney's Office fined the company \$1.9 million. And last May the defense department suspended General Dynamics, then its largest contractor, from receiving Pentagon contracts. The reason: the House of Representatives oversight and investigation subcommittee found that the company—builder of the navy's Trident nuclear submarines—had given almost \$60,000 worth of gifts to now-retired admiral Hyman Rickover, who was in charge of the submarine program. The company had also listed almost \$500,000 worth of personal flights taken by General Dynamics chairman David S. Lewis in its expense account. Although the courts find the firm \$600,000 for the illegal transactions, the suspension lasted only 65 days, and in August the Pentagon assigned General Dynamics nearly \$300 million in new contracts for missiles and a Trident submarine.

Those scandals appear to have lessened public support for defense spending. According to a poll in the nationally circulated U.S. magazine *Harvard Week* last January, 59 per cent of Americans polled in 1980 had been in favor of increasing the Pentagon budget. But by January 1985, that number had plummeted to nine per cent. And although Congress has regularly supported the Reagan administration's defense funding requests—85 per cent have been granted since 1981—recent developments indicate that the administration's continuing quest for increased appropriations will be fought by a growing number of politicians increasingly disenchanted by high-tech waste.

Indeed, Reagan's proposed budget last February for defense department spending called for a 16-per-cent increase in 1986—taking it up to \$222.2 billion from \$209 billion. But Congress did not authorize that increase and allowed only a 3.6-per-cent rise to match U.S. inflation. Meanwhile, the growth of the Military Reform Caucus, composed of politicians from both houses, is likely to exert further pressure for reform. The bipartisan organization, formed in 1981 with a dozen members, is dedicated to increasing Pentagon defense programs. Indeed, its membership has grown to 130—25 per cent of all congressional seats. Dedicated therefore: "The reform movement is certainly growing, and there will be more accountability. Congress has issued a warning that it will not pay for any more abusive, unsuccessful projects."

—LENNY GLENN in New York with FETTER RUFFELL and JULIA BENNETT in Toronto

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## TELEVISION

# A child of many faces

ISAAC LITTLERBROTHERS  
(CBC, Oct. 25)

Isaac Littlerbrothers is the sort of fake that could only spring from a country like Canada, with its crazy quilt of races and cultures. Set in in the late

1930s, the new CBC drama focuses on an adolescent with an Indian mother and a white father who has spent most of his youth in a Jewish household. After being abandoned at the age of 5 by his mother, Isaac was taken in by Abe Kopp (Lee Jacoby), a grocer in Alberta who lost his only son in the Second World War. Abe dotes on Isaac and, when he turns 18, wants to lead him to the family with a coming-of-age bar mitzvah ceremony. Isaac, played by the 15-year-old, Edmonton-born William Korbuz, resists his stepfather, but that is the least of Abe's problems. The boy's running feud with some local toughs, the Varco brothers, frequently lands him on the wrong side of the law. Indeed, Abe has discovered that losing Isaac is often a difficult proposition. The same might be said of the program that bears his name. Watching Isaac Littlerbrothers is like riding a roller coaster that swings violently between first-hand realism and weak melodrama.



Korbuz, Jacoby, swinging violently from first-hand realism to weak melodrama.

The show becomes sincere early with the appearance of the boy's natural father, Isaac Armstrong (Scott Hyland), a handsome NHL hockey player who deserted Isaac and his mother nine years earlier. Unhappily, no writers less

the man who has truly earned it, Abe. But Isaac Littlerbrothers has even worse foes. The stunning Varco gang more closely resembles the Three Stooges than a plausible threat to Isaac. The show includes a boring match between its slender hero and the towering Bill Varco (Mark Rymaszewski), who has just been released from prison. Unfortunately, the buildup to the fight contains so many clichés about training that the drama begins to look like a parody of the Rocky movies.

Still, much of Isaac Littlerbrothers comes with grace. Its best first acting role Korbuz has created a convincingly mercurial character who can be as sulky as a February day one moment and radiant with humor the next. His intense performance is beautifully matched by that of Jacoby, who plays Abe as an engaging, grandfatherly man spouting traditional wisdom and comfort. He frequently urges his adopted son to take the best from a situation and to ignore the rest. Viewers would do well to follow his advice. Isaac Littlerbrothers is far from a dramatic feast, but it offers a passably enjoyable meal.

—JOHN REMBKE

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FOR THE RECORD

## Ecstasy and bitterness

IN SQUARE CIRCLE  
Steve Wonder  
(Tandem/Qualia)

Steve Wonder's *In Square Circle* was delayed so many times that even his record company began making jokes about "Wonder when." But his first solo studio album in five years is well worth the wait. Rhythmic and more varied than his two preceding albums, the highly crafted pop-soul collection serves as a reminder of Wonder's stature in popular music. His music includes some of his most sophisticated work to date, with its enigmatic refrain. And *Never in Square Circle* contains some of his best lyrics about love, stardom and love. Wonder has at times been guilty of sentimentality, but he avoids it on the new album. He ridicules Hollywood materialism and criticizes South Africa's apartheid. But his eloquence has more in it than musical textures than in hard-hitting lyrics. Overlaid, which features what he calls "environmental percussion"—crickets, birds, pebbles dropping in a pool—best demonstrates Wonder's artistic vision. Bubbling over with ecstasy and lush sounds, he creates rare magical moments. For those who have long been expecting another Wonder classic, patience has been rewarded.

ANOTHER WORLD  
The Roots  
(WEA)

With their offbeat three-part harmonies and witty (sometimes) lyrics, The Roots became the darlings of the folk music scene during the late 1990s. The three sisters, Maggie, Irene and Sunny, delighted listeners with infectious sing-along verses about wall-tossing, lost love and married men. Their return to recording after a three-year absence should be cause for celebration. But on *Another World* The Roots appear lost in musical limbo. Walling synthesized drums spell the title track, while The Mighty Mighty Boosh has none of the sarcasm that characterized the sisters' earlier work. Only *Older Girls* succeeds, with its satirical talk of broken marriages and bulging waistlines. Their harmonic chemistry is still intact, but, sadly, The Roots' creative taste have lost their cutting edge.

—NICOLAS JENNINGS

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## A threat in the forest

Fearful avalanches are a fact of life in the steep-sided Swiss valley that shelters the picturesque village of Brillon. But a screen of trees shields the snow on the slopes immediately above the village, and Brillon itself is rarely threatened. The trees have protected the village for centuries.

But this winter, Swiss authorities have warned, at least 70 of the village's 630 inhabitants may have to evacuate their homes as snow builds up above them. The reason: air pollution—mostly from acidic emissions—has killed or severely damaged much of Brillon's forest.

The trouble is, Brillon reflects a large

ecorecession in the nation. Last year Swiss scientists calculated that 34 per cent of the country's trees were diseased. Said Swiss forestry engineer Philippe Demare: "It would be a miracle if the forest death did not continue to spread. The only question is the speed."

In North America scientists are still debating the effects of air pollution on forests. But few doubt remain in Switzerland and several other European countries. West German researchers estimate that more than half of the country's trees are damaged—meaning that they have suffered the loss of at least 10 per cent of their needles or leaves. And the evidence is pointing steadily to airborne pollutants as the leading cause. Said Demare: "We cannot separate the many causes, but air pollution is the number 1 factor."

Several North American scientists, trying to pinpoint the cause of damage to Central and Eastern forests, reported similar conclusions at an international conference in Ontario's heavily acid-damaged Muskoka region last month. And as word got out, Ontario Environment Minister James Bradley, was sufficiently impressed with the evidence that he recently urged a group of pulp and paper executives to join the fight against acid rain. Said Bradley: "To not underestimate the gravity of the situation. Acid rain has the potential to dissolve the economic value of Ontario's forests."

In Europe scientists are convinced that nitrogen oxides in car exhausts are the prime contributor to the acidic pollution that is ravaging forests, followed by emissions from coal-fired generating plants. The Swiss government has announced stringent pollution controls for cars beginning in 1987. But in North America, where such controls already exist, some scientists and economists estimate that forest destruction is already costing the Canadian forest industry \$200 million and the U.S. industry \$600 million in lost revenue every year. And that, they say, could prove to be the most powerful incentive yet for the U.S. and Canadian governments to introduce strong pollution controls.

The European experience has shown that trees in a weakened state are easily killed by climatic change and become highly susceptible to pest infestations. In fact, the Swiss government recently drew out several large swaths of pollution-damaged forest that had been attacked by bark beetles, which can kill a tree in as short a time as two weeks. Said Brillon Mayor Hans Maret, contemplating the damage near his village: "I've hunted deer and chamois here all my life. The forest used to be so thick it was almost black. Now, I could just cry."

—BRYTON DOLLAR in Geneva

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# Politics with passion

STRAIGHT FROM THE HEART  
By Jean Chrétien  
(King Porter, 221 pages, \$19.95)

In the early hours of Sept. 6, 1988, Jean Chrétien appeared to age instantly as he stood before a flickering television in his Sherbrooke, Que., campaign office. He had already won his own seat in the federal election but had wanted up to see how Prime Minister John Turner, the man who had beaten him for the Liberal leadership three years earlier, would fare in魁北克. Indeed, the book is so aware that Turner had at least won his own riding. Chrétien turned toward the deer and, in two repetitions, said rather ambiguously, "I might come back." It took more than a year, but with *Straight From the Heart* Chrétien has finally come back. Indeed, the book is much like the man himself: less, entertaining, anecdotal and passionate. The editor of journalist Ron Givens, who edited the English-language edition, obviously was as confident for the man's skillful pacing and detail. But Givens, who wrote an extensive and intriguing intro-



Chrétien's view of a street fighter

ductory on Chrétien for *Saturday Night* magazine, has provided the heart for a sparkling autobiography, and Chrétien has clearly applied the line. Above all, *Straight From the Heart* preserves the warmth and humor of the real Chrétien. His tense his political career from Sir Wilfrid Laurier's election in 1896—when his grandfather lashed out at elected Liberal voters—and addresses the current dilemma of the federal Liberals, which also turns loyal supporters to drink. But Chrétien argues that the path to a Liberal revival may require a radical alliance of progressive Liberals and populist New Democrats if the Mulroney grip on Ottawa is ever to be broken. Chrétien, of course, is a true believer in the Liberal party. After all, it was the vehicle that took the scrappy 18th child of a paper mill mechanic to the rank of deputy prime minister by the age of 50.

What made Chrétien so successful was political street smarts. His insights into the necessity of accepting advice from department officials should be regarded for recently resigned fisheries minister John Penner. And while he admits that he does not understand Pierre Trudeau, his examination of the enigma makes for fascinating reading. Chrétien reveals his discovery that "letting Trudeau win the arguments seemed to satisfy his appetite."

Other political insights, however, are arguably wiser, especially when Chrétien maintains that "politics is a game of friends." And the street fighter absolutely pulls his punches whenever he refers to John Turner. Their often bitter leadership battle is covered in a mere dozen pages, and Chrétien has not one bad word for Turner. The only knock, in fact, are against Quebec party heavyweights Jean Lesclapart and André Gauthier, who chose not to support Chrétien, and candidate Mark McGowan, who is ingeniously described as "too educated for his intelligence." More of that hard-edged analysis would have made the chapter on the leadership race as vital as the chapter concerning his violent battles on the Quebec referendum.

Even so, *Straight From the Heart* is highly recommendable. It may appear as close as if the eye of each storm of the past decade—the referendum, the Constitution, federal energy policies—has been seen through Chrétien's lens, but there is more truth in that than fiction. Besides, as Canadian scholar Northrup Frye astutely observed more than 50 years ago, Canada suffers from too much accurate history and too little accurate vision. What Chrétien's autobiography offers is the vision of our most considerable politician. Its right line is clear, textured and indisputably colorful.

—KEN MACLENNAN

# A love-hate relationship

THE 50TH PARADOX  
CANADA IN NORTH AMERICA  
By Richard Gwyn  
(McClelland and Stewart,  
367 pages, \$22.95)

For decades Canada has maintained a love-hate relationship with the superpower to the south, and recently the attitude has been frosty. When the United States sent the secessionist Peter Dink through water in the summer it sparked a national outcry about the violation of Canada's sovereignty. Then, the Conservative government's refusal to participate in "Bible Wars" research was seen as a slap over the U.S. military-industrial complex. And Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's recent decision to seek free trade with the United States has been quickly painted by critics as a continental sellout. With *The 50th Paradox*, respected journalist Richard Gwyn provides one of the most mature accounts to date of Canada's flicker toward the United States. Gwyn's aim is to chart these relations from the American Revolution to the present and to set out "a new national agenda." His first goal is to achieve honesty, he stresses, lightly touched at best, is marred by his own guarded nationalism.

To Gwyn, *The 50th Paradox*'s long-time Ottawa columnist now based in London, Canadians are distinctly different from Americans. Using the research findings of Stanford University sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset, Gwyn proclaims Canadians to be more liberal on issues of religion and social morality, more supportive of income redistribution and more leftist in their international views than Americans. What has happened, he suggests, is that the "rigid and fearfully conservative" Canadian society of the years prior to the Second World War has turned itself into "perhaps the most liberal society in the world." Although he advocates no detailed explanation for that stunning transformation, Gwyn clearly puts more weight on the very Canadians' genuine their government. "They believe that the state is their state. And it is," he writes, because it has accomplished what Canadians have wanted by "pursuing their society toward the liberal state of greater equity, fairness and tolerance." Canada, Gwyn concludes, has become the democratic society that the United States has always claimed to be but never was.

According to Gwyn, Canadians have



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Mrs. Tegrin: And Tegrin gets your scalp really clean.



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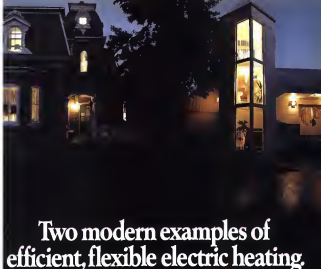
been traditionally more accessible than Americans. He often 1981 polling data on attitudes to the Trudeau government's National Energy Program, which reveal that 84 per cent of the public supported the nationalization of the oil industry, then, in 1984, by almost 71, Canadians believed that domestic firms provided more job security than multinationals, a view most likely influenced by foreign firms that had then violated job-creating agreements after receiving government grants.

But while the Canadian people chose to believe in nationalism, Gwyn does not. Although he gives ample space to the nationalist views of Walter Gordon and economist Abraham Rotstein, he concludes that such arguments hurt the country in the 1980s and 1990s by failing to address regional interests. As a remedy to Western grievances, Gwyn favors free trade with the United States. He expects nothing more than a modest package of tariff changes to emerge from the upcoming negotiations but he feels that the issue is important enough to be put to a national referendum. Canadians are so different from Americans, Gwyn argues, that they can now enter a free trade arrangement without fearing for their survival. While recognizing the difficulties that might result, such as the employment dislocation, he insists that economic imperatives demand that Canada create a broader market and become more competitive.

Gwyn has no fears that the United States will have the upper hand in striking a free trade deal. He cites a former U.S. state department official who remarked that Canadians have always "bargained very hard and with great skill. They were just better prepared, better briefed and usually lighter and tougher." Given the importance of relations with the United States, it was only to be expected that Canada would get its best piece of the bargaining table.

Gwyn's confidence in Canada's distinctiveness lets him posit—too briefly—his ideas for a new nationalism. He calls for Canada to look outward again now that the Quebec question is settled, the Constitution patched and Bore and Watt pacified by recent energy deals. Gwyn asserts that the country can become "an American nation in the literal meaning of that term," which in his vague nationalist agenda means that Canadians must look to the Caribbean and Latin America. What looking to the south does for Canada, what satisfaction it may offer Canadian workers displaced by free trade, Gwyn fails to say. That gaping hole spoils Gwyn's otherwise coherent, skillfully written book and lends its analysis to the great Canadian debate on continental union.

—J.L. GRANT-STEPHEN



## Two modern examples of efficient, flexible electric heating.

Two very different homes, with different heating problems. But they both want the most efficient and economical home comfort.

The home on the left was built way back when. And in those days, oil was the least expensive alternative for home heating. But times have changed. So the heating system has also changed. The owners have added an electric plenum heater to their oil furnace, which has reduced their fuel bills substantially.

The home on the right is the new guy on the block. And because it's new, it has the latest heating technology. The owners chose an electric heat pump, a system so efficient that it actually delivers more energy than it takes to run it. A system so versatile that, in summer, it reverses its cycle and air conditions the home.

Two very different homes. But they both chose electric heat. With electric furnaces, room heaters, heat pumps, plenum heaters and hydronic boilers to choose from, there's an electric system right for every home, old or new. If you'd like help choosing the best one for you, call your local Hydrex contractor.

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The Blue Box System of Container Shipping

## Dreams of fulfilment

DUST FOR THREE

By Joan Barfoot  
(Showtimes of *Canada*, 222 pages, \$22.95)

As a novelist, Joan Barfoot explores problems of women trapped by their families and, more insistently, by their own dreams. In her first two books, Barfoot's heroines tried to free themselves by different means: one left her family for a better existence, the other murdered her husband with a tomato knife. In *Dust for Three* Barfoot abandons such radical solutions, offering a sympathetic account of three women who struggle against the firm that binds them. The novel opens with Aggie Readrick, 50, waking to find that she has not her bed. Her daughter, June, resents having to care for the grossly overweight Aggie and tries to use the accident as a pretext to send her to a retirement home. Aggie drinks the self-righteous Christian faith of June, who treats God as "a foreigner for whom she takes it upon herself to translate." One woman is trapped by faith, the other by the narrowness of her views.

Using that simple conflict, Barfoot digs back and forth between the two women, piecing together their lives to show how they arrived at their unhappy arrangement. Aggie emerges as the more sympathetic of the two. She married an English schoolteacher and has visions of him reading poetry to her as their children sleep upstairs. But the teacher finds sex distasteful and is more concerned with appearances than feelings. Rebelling against her unfulfilling marriage, Aggie blots her body with food and reads voraciously to feed her mind. Ten years later, when her husband dies, she finds herself segregated for freedom and her successive fashions a metaphor for her inability to act or to reconcile the dreams of youth with reality. But the favourites through her granddaughter, Frances, who blossoms into a self-possessed achiever.

Occasionally, Barfoot falters in her portrayal of June, who looks Aggie's rich inner life and sensuality. She is also heavy-handed in stressing repeatedly that June will not find happiness by riding her aunt. But ultimately these faults do not detract from Barfoot's skill in illuminating the fettered lives of women striving for something better.

—PETER GIFFIN



Mason, Gielgud: a memorable encounter between two of England's finest actors

### FILM

## Requiem for a gentleman

THE SHOOTING PARTY

Directed by Alan Bridges

As the sun sets over the Nettleby estate during the bonding weekend in *The Shooting Party*, it is also setting over the British Empire. The year is 1913, the air order is beginning to collapse and the world will soon experience its first global war. Adapted by Julian Bond from Isabel Colegate's 1968 novel, *The Shooting Party* has a faithful, sumptuous quality, both in appearance and atmosphere. Sir Randolph Nettleby, played by James Mason in his last performance, hosts the weekend and privately laments the death of the world he once knew. Behaviour is less discreet, conversation no longer governed by propriety and servants seem to have actual concerns of their own. Sir Randolph's eyes painfully register the subtle transgressions. And when the weekend dissolves in a horrible and mindless shooting accident, it foreshadows the many gunshots in the years ahead.

Directed by Alan Bridges (*The Bitter of the Soldier*) with a beautifully refuted bond, *The Shooting Party* is highly literate and acted with magnificent accuracy. But its literary origins also pose a problem: the cast is so large that not all the characters emerge as vividly as they did in the book. In addition to Lord Nettleby and his wife, Lady Marnie (Dorothy Tutin), the film focuses most convincingly on Lord and Lady Harry (Edward Fox and Cheryl Campbell), who best define the extremes of the two

eras that the story straddles. He is long-suffering and virtuous—endured in the worst sense of the word, she is selfish and short-tempered—and carries an economical affair with a banker. The weekend party becomes a microcosm for the changing world, where marriage, like the old status quo, has become infiltrated by disquieting new ideas.

As entertaining as it is melancholic, *The Shooting Party* will likely be best remembered for an encounter between two of England's finest actors. When Corinna Cordes, an eccentric animal rights activist played by Jane Gielgud, arrives to protest the hunt, the hunters dismiss her as mad. But Sir Randolph and Corinna find that for all their differences in social standing and politics, they share a common passion for companion animals. Sir Randolph, who considers himself to be something of a philosopher, takes the time and courtesy to listen to the activist. Their growing delight with one another becomes a blinding but not tedious of human understanding—one that will soon go tragically out of fashion among nations with the coming war. Gielgud and Mason, with their mellancholic voices, play each other like a cello and a violin. They seem to acknowledge their pleasure in each other's remarkable craft, and together they are as graceful as any two actors have ever been on screen. For Mason, those moments serve as a superb epitaph.

—LAWRENCE OTTOBRE



Wedgeworth and Lange: creating an infectious sense of Cline's unabated joy

## A bittersweet melody

SWEET DIKENS  
Directed by Earl Elzer

A country-and-western singer Patry Cline, who died in 1983 in a plane crash at the age of 30 after a tragically short career, *Sweet Dikens* creates an infectious sense of a child prodigy. So strong is Lange's presence in *Sweet Dikens* that when she leaves the screen she takes the film's energy with her. Lange's performance is a stunning transformation; she manages to efface her own beauty and feist, instead, Cline's sweet, endearingly ordinary quality. Because Cline's career was so truncated and her life mostly free of high-strung theories, *Sweet Dikens* concentrates rather exquisitely on the intimacy of her seven-year marriage to Charlie Duke. That partnership is sensually irritating and the viewer wants to know more about Cline's earlier life; since, by all accounts, she was a free-living, raven-haired belle. But Lange's magic and the bittersweet romance between Patry and Charlie compensate for those shortcomings.

Cline, as Lange portrays her and Robert Getchell scripts her, was a completely down-to-earth woman with a sharp tongue and a total deflection to singing. Abandoned by her father when she was 16, she aspired through her life to a comfortable domesticity in, as she put it, "a house with yellow roses." Patry

meets Charlie (Ed Harris) while she is trapped in a boring marriage to a husband who barely notices her, but she resists Charlie's initial advances: "You want a lot, don't you?" she seers at him. "People is hell wait or wait. But that's mean they get it."

Patry wanted more than her life allowed, and Charlie seemed to understand instantly that she needed to be challenged. He taunts her: "Ever listen to a Kitty Wells record, huh? You'd go home and sit your knee." After that provocation she is too angry and intrigued to resist him. Still, what really sparks their relationship is an instinctive communication: "Somebody ought to be happy," she tells him. "It might as well be me." Charlie turns up the ear radio, takes her by the hand and leads her around the slow waltz around the parking lot.

That ineffable range of romance burns much of *Sweet Dikens*, and Getchell, who wrote *Shogun* (1980) and *Love Me Love My Love* (1981), has a gift for romantic dialogue that is endearingly awkward

And has for the down-home sham of West Virginia, spoken to memorable effect in rich comic drawl by Ann Wedgeworth, who plays Patry's erasid and lovable mother, in a pure pleasure in terms of dramatic impact. Little happens following the wedding. Patry's career is interrupted by pregnancy. Charlie is drafted into the army. Patry becomes successful, and Charlie becomes resentful. But Lange's vitality threads its way through the film like a brightly colored ribbon. "Let's go spend some money!" she whips when she puts her first coin into Decca Records. It is the same life-grasping whang that the audience hears before Patry boards the fatal plane.

There is a subtle thread running through *Sweet Dikens*. The songs that Cline sings seemed to come out of her own life: her disappointment in Charlie's infidelity, his drinking and, in two instances, physical abuse. Cline, with her dusky voice, plaintive yet not sentimental, could turn any song into a purely intimate song. Lange superbly impersonates Cline's singing voice, which has been given a freshness and clarity on the sound track through strong reimpersonation. And, somewhat oddly, Lange's speaking voice has a striking similarity to Cline's. During the performance scenes she captures the singer's behavior and attitude with her own. When she sings the title song, Lange calms the same fluttering hand notes that actress Sissy Spacek used as singer Lorelei Lynn in *Coal Miner's Daughter*. That coincidence has an historical basis, since Lynn herself was strongly influenced by Cline.

The energy in Lange's work spills out over the screen, at times overwhelming her costar, Harris. But in his own way Harris is quietly effective as Cline's

PAIRING: physical advice



—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

## OBITUARY

# A creative legend in his own time

At the height of his fame in the mid-1950s, Drew Welles agreed to spend an evening discussing his many exploits in theater, radio and film with a group of midwestern American fans. When only a few braved a thunderstorm to hear him, he

markable talent, a certified genius.

But for the producer Welles, born in 1918 in Kenosha, Wis., there was a cruel twist to life at an early age: he had nowhere to go but down. His family's doctor had correctly assessed him as a genius when he was 3, but *Citizen Kane*, which he passionately loved, was a commercial failure. His next film, *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1928), was a dark masterpiece but it was drastically rescut by the studio and lost even more money than *Kane*. Increasingly, studio refusal to finance his ideas led him to his own time in the 1950s. Welles accepted acting roles, the most memorable being that of Harry Kane in *The Third Man*. But bad luck and his overabundant personality always seemed to trip him up. By the late 1960s and early 1970s Welles earned his living mostly from appearances on radio shows. In his last years he was best known as the spokesman in commercials for California's Paul Masson wines. Sadly, the man who revolutionized the film world had not made a movie in Hollywood in nearly three decades.



Welles broadcasting War of the Worlds: brilliance

led them, "What a pity there are so many of me and so few of you." For Welles, who died in Los Angeles last week at 73 of a heart attack, the lack of modesty was well-observed. In 1941, at 38, he had co-written, directed and starred in his first movie, *Citizen Kane*, which many critics regard as the greatest movie ever made. He had changed the face of American theatre with an all-black production of *Macbeth* and his modern-dress *Julius Caesar*. On Hollywood in 1938 his broadcast of *War of the Worlds* convinced an entire nation that Martians had landed in New Jersey. As his many achievements proved, Welles was one of history's most re-

allow him to do what he loved most: direct movies. Recently, in recognition of his tremendous talent, he referred to himself as "Alan...some kind of legend."

Ironically, Welles died just as he was enjoying more public attention than he had in decades. Two new biographies were published earlier this month, and both address the question of whether Welles deserved his downfall. Barbara Leaming, who offers a sympathetic account, says that despite his tantrums, self-destructive tendencies and incontinence, Welles was a victim of Hollywood's fickleness. Charles Higham, on the other hand, contends that his many undisciplined films are evidence that Welles had a "fear of completion" and "some perverse streak of anti-commercialism."

In *Citizen Kane*, the film for which Welles will be best remembered, the lonely Charles Foster Kane attains the mysterious word "Rosebud" on his deathbed. Rosebud, which referred to Kane's childhood sled, was a symbol of the happiness that had been prematurely happiness from him. Like Kane, Welles's youthful years remained his friend. But with his legacy of many talents, Welles will be missed—every single one of them.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

## MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

### Fiction

- 1 *Lucky Collins* (2)
- 2 *Sixteen Crows*, King (1)
- 3 *The Fourth Deadly Sin*, Sanders (2)
- 4 *It Takes Two*, Coates (1)
- 5 *The Bad Man*, Apple (1)
- 6 *Confessions*, Hughes (1)
- 7 *The Other House Rules*, Irving (2)
- 8 *The Last Days of Pompeii*, Arnold (1)
- 9 *A Man of War*, Wells (1)
- 10 *Times*, Welles (1)

### Nonfiction

- 1 *Looney, American with Me* (1)
- 2 *Erin*, Wells (1)
- 3 *Twelve Years of Slavery* (1)
- 4 *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (1)
- 5 *Young, Nager and Jones* (1)
- 6 *A Passion for Knowledge*, Wells and Wells (1)
- 7 *Howling in the Lake*, McGee (1)
- 8 *The World of Robert B. Johnson*, Wells (1)
- 9 *A Day in the Life of Canada*, Wells (1)
- 10 *Erin*, Wells (1)
- 11 *Erin*, Wells (1)
- 12 *Erin*, Wells (1)
- 13 *Erin*, Wells (1)
- 14 *Erin*, Wells (1)
- 15 *Erin*, Wells (1)
- 16 *Erin*, Wells (1)
- 17 *Erin*, Wells (1)
- 18 *Erin*, Wells (1)
- 19 *Erin*, Wells (1)
- 20 *Erin*, Wells (1)

# At home with squirrels and gulls

By Allan Fotheringham

There is to serve as a serious tourist guide for these strangers, especially Americans, who might stumble into Toronto in the eventuality that the World Series has arrived. There seems a belief, from below the border, that the city is inhabited by arctic brutes. They should be assured that that temperature is enclosed only in the hearts of Bay Street bankers—the people who made the country what it is today: emotionally constipated.

Toronto is a vast pond of the fact that it has a large lake at the top of a large tower. This is known as the tallest free-standing structure in the world—that proves added because there is something taller on earth, a communications tower in Poland that is supported by guy wires. If that's the type of competition you want to get into, feel free. Toronto also has the longest summer of sea gulls ever to infect a baseball park. It is the only city in the world to arrest a ball player, David Winfield of the New York Yankees, for accidentally killing a sea gull with a thrown ball. Most people would have given him a Victoria Cross, but Toronto is different.

It is one of the very few remaining cities in North America with three independent newspapers. Each one of these levels superior to the other, and two of them are possibly right. The ignorant Americans are all upset about the necessity of wearing sweaters to the World Series, as if the Blue Jays make it that far, as they threaten to do. Big city guy, the World Series has nothing to do with global decoration, although it sounds that way. The title comes from a trophy originally donated by the old New York World newspaper. (You could look it up.)

Back to the weather. Americans, you see, spend their lives worried before the evening news, ending with the weather forecast that explains that "a cold front is moving down from Canada." Canada comes across as a rigid lump of ice slightly larger than that which sank the Titanic. As we all know, the temperatures in Toronto are brutally those of

Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee or New York, all of which at last look had ball teams that did not play in midlake.

Toronto, aside from being south of Vancouver, also lies south of such cities as Seattle and Minneapolis. It is south of the states of Washington, Montana and North Dakota. It is south of south of Oregon, Idaho, South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Maine. It is south of parts of New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, Michigan and Wyoming. It is difficult to say something nice about Toronto, but occasionally the truth must out.

Toronto is absolutely gaga over Venice Street, which is the longest and possibly



silent main street on earth. The most expensive women in Canada now reside in Toronto, hanging about the Courtyard Cafe and Hamilton Lanes, absolutely dripping in Gucci and Balenciaga. You need a proper counter to force your way past their specters. Toronto also has a lot of trees, and therefore squirrels. I think we can say with some sense of certainty that Toronto leads the nation in sea gulls combined with squirrels. It is a good image.

As the world will find if the city makes it into the World Series, Toronto has the warmest baseball stadium in baseball. It was designed neither for baseball nor football but for an agricultural fair-own-ranch concert. As a result, Toronto suffers severely from a bad case of dome envy, which is something like penis envy except that it is more round. Montreal has a dome that forgets a roof, and Vancouver has a real dome (the dardest place in the world in which

to play baseball), and, therefore, Toronto has an apparent need to shut out the sunshine. It will probably succeed.

If you must know, the average October temperature in Toronto is 49°F (no Americans can understand that), while Detroit is 51.8, Milwaukee at 51 and Pittsburgh at 52. What everyone remembers is that the very first time the Blue Jays played at home, on April 7, 1977, it rained. This made all the wide-fieldment newsmen in the United States, naturally, and the image has remained.

There are a lot of tall buildings in Toronto. This is because Canada was first settled by a group of Scots Presbyterians. Being Scots Presbyterians, they were shipped money and set up the Canadian banking system, which is the tightest labor union in Christendom, extracting the postal workers and the Teachers' Canada is the song-sungmost capital of the world because of these patch-faced philosophers. To make room for all this stored loot, which the bankers use to buy their six-piece, bulletproof suits from Harry Rosen, they had to build all these buildings, mostly on the same corner, all of which except one have the architectural originality of a Legoset. This is why there are a lot of tall buildings in Toronto.

Toronto is the home of many famous people, many of whom don't live in Toronto. It is famous for Pierre Berton, the one-man industry. He happens to live in Kleinburg, Ont. Toronto's most famous journalist is Peter Newman, who lives on Vancouver Island. And so it goes.

The other matter about Toronto that matters is that it secretly wants to be part of the United States. It worships money and therefore looks to the states. New York has a bar called George Steinbrenner, as Toronto counters with Harold Ballard. New York has a distance called a highway system, so Toronto counters with its own lingua franca—the Maple Leafs.

There are many similarities, and Toronto does not have to be frightened. The weather is not the problem. It is the frigidity of the money. Careful not to nick yourself on the prickles of their charities. The Porner is safe to drink

"I've got my fingers crossed."



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